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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 14, 1848.

For the National Era.

SKETCHES OF MODERN REFORMS AND REFORMERS, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

No. 16.—*Ireland—The Causes of its Debasement—Dublin—Its Mementoes of the Captivity of the Country—The Antiquity and Power of the Papal Church—Treaty of Limerick—The Catholic Penal Code of Ireland—Its Origin—Opinions of Penn, Montesquieu, Burke, and Blackstone, concerning it—Its Amelioration.*

The subject matter of this sketch will be, the Catholic Penal Code, and its repeal by act of Parliament, in 1829.

The act of Emancipation extended to Catholics alike to all parts of the United Kingdom. But, as the large majority of the professors of that faith dwelt in Ireland, and as they composed nearly seven-eighths of the people of that island, and as it was there that the long and fierce conflict was waged which ultimately compelled English Protestants to yield to their Catholic fellow-subjects the rights of toleration which they themselves enjoyed, this was regarded as emphatically an Irish reform.

Ireland! What a throng of associated ideas start to life at the mention of that name! How varied their aspect—how contradictory their character—how antagonistic the emotions they kindle, the sentiments they inspire. Ireland, the land of genius and degradation, of vast resources and pinching poverty, of noble deeds and revolting crimes, of valiant resistance to tyranny and obsequious submission to usurpation. Ireland, the land of splendid orators, charming poets, brave soldiers, and great statesmen; the land of ignorance, superstition, abjectness, and beggary; measureless in its capacities, stinted in its products, a strange anomaly, a complication of contradictions.

Though this portraiture, sketched by no unfriendly hand, be but a rude outline, does it not shadow forth the original? Why are its darker colors no less faithful delineations of the prominent features than the brighter? The very problem which a whole century has not been able to solve! The British Tory will point to what he calls "the malign character of the Irish," as the prime cause of the debasement and wretchedness which exist among them. The British Whig, whose zeal for Protestantism, as a mere *ism,* has clouded his judgment, will assign the general prevalence of the Catholic religion in the island, as the source of most of the evils which afflict it. The genuine Irishman, who regards his native isle as the greenest and fairest the sun ever smiled to shine upon, will tell you that, giving due weight to many obvious but secondary influences, the degradation and misery which debase and crush such masses of his countrymen must be ascribed to the fact that Ireland, which could once boast of national independence, a regal sovereign, and a royal Parliament, is now a mere appendage to the English Crown, without a name, a flag, or a Senate; an oppressed colony crouching under a hated yoke of vassalage; a captive province paying tribute to a conqueror, who, having robbed it of nationality, appoints its rulers, dictates its laws, prescribes its ritual, plunders its wealth, tarnishes its reputation, and scoffs at its complainings.

Waiving till another occasion the question whether the prime cause of Ireland's miseries does not lie deeper than her compulsory and unnatural union with Great Britain, let us enter a little further into the feelings of the struggling Irishman. Go with him to Dublin. A beautiful city—one of the fairest in the United Kingdom. But, its beauty is that of the fading flower nipped by the untimely frost—the beauty of the chiselled marble, rather than of the living, acting, speaking man. Consumptive, pale, listless, it lacks the bloom, the freshness, the vivacity of conscious health. Its manufactures, its domestic trade, its foreign commerce, since the union with England, have dwindled under the shadow of its towering rival beyond the channel, until its market days are as sombre as a London Sabbath. Its dull streets and slumbering wharves, yea, the very gait and air of its populace, give token that its prosperity is arrested by the hand of decay, whilst its magnificent public edifices seem to stand only as cold and melancholy monuments of its departed greatness and glory. From the proud capital of an independent nation, Dublin has degenerated to the chief mart of a dependent province, whose owners are "absentee proprietors," whose husbandmen pay their rents to foreign landlords, whose merchants are the mere agents of distant capitalists, and whose nobles are proud to hide their Irish stars under English ribbons.

Everything in Dublin reminds the Irishman of the captivity of his country. He feels a blighting shame when he conducts a stranger through the stately halls of the Bank of Ireland; for there the Lords and Commons of the Emerald isle once legislated. He is pained when you extol the grandeur of this noble building; for, to his eye, its glory has faded and fled. Walk with him through that broad and beautiful avenue, Sackville street, and your praise of its elegant mansions only reminds him that the Irish nobility that once resided there have gone to swell the brilliant pageant of the conqueror at Hyde Park and St. James's Palace. Wander with him amidst the filth and squalor of the lanes of the city, and he points to wretchedness and want as the fruits of English legislation. Go with him to the Castle, and, as the soldiery file through its turreted gate, clad in the uniform of the Saxon, he regards them not as the troops of a legitimate ruler, but as the trained assassins of an alien despot.

With such mementoes of the departed power and present captivity of Ireland, meeting his eye at every turn, was it not natural that the genuine Irishman, who submitted to the rule of England for the same reason that the slave wears the chain of his master, should, with the free blood which his Creator gave him boiling in his veins, twenty years ago present to his oppressor the alternative of civil war or unqualified toleration in the exercise of his hereditary religious faith—that eight years ago he should rush to Conciliation Hall, and agitate for his civil rights under the motto, "No People, strong enough to be a Nation, should consent to be a Province"—and that this present year, when the last hope of civil emancipation by peaceful means had died out, and all Europe was in arms, casting away the chains of ages, he should light the fires of revolution on the heights of Ballingarry, resolved to strike one despairing blow for the deliverance of a long-oppressed country? He who would brand Washington a traitor, may sink the iron into the foreheads of Mitchell, O'Brien, and Meagher.

But, we anticipate. All these matters belong to the discussion of a subject yet to be considered—*the Independence of Ireland.* I have been betrayed into them, prematurely and immaturely, by the temper of the times. Our present business is with the Catholic Penal Code.

The antiquity and power of the Roman Hierarchy, and the sway it now holds over 150,000,000 of people, diffused through all all quarters of the globe, is one of the most extraordinary facts in the history of the Christian era. Whether the combined efforts of Protestantism to overthrow it, during the next three centuries, will be more successful than during the three since the Reformation, time only can show. In his review of Ranke's History of the Popes, speaking of the Catholic Church, Macaulay says: "She saw the commencement of all the Governments, and of all the ecclesiastical establishments, that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain—before the Frank had passed the Rhine—when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch—when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveller from New England shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge, to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

Amongst the adherents to the Papal faith, none have shown a steadier attachment to it, through all vicissitudes, than the Catholics of Ireland. For centuries it has been the dominant, and at times almost exclusive, religion of that country. Persecutions the most bigoted and bloody have not abated the zeal and tenacity with which the Irish have practiced and clung to their hereditary creed. The battle of the Boyne, in 1690, was followed by the Treaty of Limerick, by which William of Orange guarantied in the most solemn terms religious toleration to his Irish Catholic subjects. The treaty was to be binding upon him, his heirs, and successors. But, a fear of the return of the banished Catholic princes of the house of Stuart, mingled with a propagandist zeal to convert Ireland to the doctrines of the Reformation, induced England to disregard the stipulations of the Treaty of Limerick. Partly by the direct legislation of the British Parliament, and partly through the medium of the Pale, a *quasi* Legislature of Ireland, the Catholic Penal Code was introduced into that country. Like other branches of British law, it was a piece of patchwork, the contribution of many reigns. It received its worst features within twenty years after the Treaty of Limerick. I will give a summary of its main provisions.

First, *as to persons professing the Catholic religion.* No Papist could take the real estate of his ancestor, either by descent or purchase; nor purchase any real estate, nor take a lease for more than thirty-one years; and if the profits of such lease exceeded a certain rate, the land went to any Protestant informer. The conveyance of real estate in trust for a Papist was void; nor could he inherit any, or be in a line of entail, but the estate descended to the next Protestant heir, as if the Papist were dead. A Papist who turned Protestant succeeded to the family estate; and an increase of jointure was allowed to Papist wives on their turning Protestants; whilst, on the other hand, a Protestant who turned Papist, or procured another to turn, was guilty of high treason.

Papist fathers were debarred, on a penalty of £500, from being guardians of their children; and a Papist minor, who avowed himself a Protestant, was immediately delivered to a Protestant guardian. No Papist could marry a Protestant, and the priest celebrating the marriage was to be hanged. Papists could not be barristers; and being Protestants, if they married Papists they were to be treated as Papists. It was a felony for a Papist to teach a school; to say or hear mass subjected him to fine and a year's imprisonment; to aid in sending another abroad, to be educated in the Popish religion, subjected the parties to a fine, and disabled them to sue in law or equity, to be executors and administrators, to take any legacy or gift, to hold any office, and to a forfeiture of all their chattels, and all real estate for life. No Papist could hold office, civil or military, sit in Parliament, or vote at elections. Protestants, robbed by privateers in a war with a Popish prince, were to be indemnified by levies on the property of Catholics alone.

Second, *as to Popish recusants,* i. e., persons not attending the Established Church. Such Papists could hold no office, nor keep arms, nor come within ten miles of London, on pain of £100, nor travel above five miles from home without license, on pain of forfeiting all goods, nor come to Court on pain of £100, nor bring any action at law or equity; and to marry, baptize, or bury, such an one, subjected the offending priest to heavy penalties. A recusant married woman forfeited two-thirds of her dower or jointure, nor could she be the executrix of her deceased husband, nor have any part of his goods; and during coverture she might be imprisoned, unless her husband redeemed her at the rate of £10 per month. All other recusant females must renounce Popery or quit the realm; and if they did not leave in a reasonable time, or afterwards returned, they could be put to death.

Third, *as to Popish priests.* Severe penalties were inflicted on them for discharging their ecclesiastical functions anywhere, and if done in England they were liable to perpetual imprisonment. Any such priest who was born in England, and, having left, should come in from abroad, was guilty of treason, and all who harbored him might be punished with death. Rewards were given for discovering Popish clergy, and any person refusing to disclose what he knew of their saying mass, or teaching pupils, might be imprisoned a year. A Popish priest who turned Protestant was entitled to £30 per annum. Besides this, they were subject to all the penalties and disabilities of lay Papists.

Fourth. Papists were excluded from grand juries; in all trials growing out of the Penal Code, the juries were to be Protestants; and in any trial on statutes for strengthening the Protestant interest, a Papist might be peremptorily challenged.

In surveying the lineaments of such a Code, the blood of a statue might glow with indignation, or chill with horror. It was inflicted on Catholic Ireland by Protestant England, in the name of that Church which claims to be the pillar and ground of the Christian faith. Well might the mild William Penn be aroused to denounce it as inhuman, when pleading before the House of Commons for toleration to the Quakers. Well might the sagacious Montesquieu characterize it as cold-blooded tyranny. Well might the philosophic Burke describe it "as a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, noted for its vicious perfection; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." Even Blackstone, who usually selected his choicest eulogies for the darkest features of the English law, was forced to say of this Code: "These laws are seldom exerted to their utmost rigor; and, indeed, if they were, it would be very difficult to excuse them." Yes, though in the times when the "No-Popery" cry was at its height, these laws were rigorously enforced, yet, as the mellowing light of civilization increased, the more cruel lay a dead letter on the statute book. But the whole hung over the head of the Catholic, like the sword of Damocles, ready to drop at the breath of any persecuting zealot or malicious informer.

This Code was essentially ameliorated in 1779, and again in 1793, in regard to recusancy, obtaining and holding real estate, guardianship and teaching of children, going abroad to be educated as Papists, practicing law, attending Papist worship, officiating as priests, and in other particulars. The elective franchise was extended to Catholics, though they were still excluded from Parliament. But, he who would bring himself within the pale of these ameliorations, must submit to many degrading and annoying requisitions, in the form of registration, oaths, subscriptions, declarations, &c. To these, many could not conscientiously yield; whilst others, high-minded persons, would not. In a word, down to 1829, when it was finally repealed, many of the worst features of the Code remained, making it an offence for seven-eighths of the people of Ireland to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences; subjecting them to degrading tests or heavy penalties for exercising precious civil and social rights; goading them with a thousand petty and provoking annoyances, till they had come to be regarded as heathens while bowing at Christian altars, and aliens to a Government under which they were born, and to whose support they were compelled to contribute their blood in war, and their money in peace. I stop not to mention that the Catholic, after spending his substance to sustain the ministry and worship of his own creed, was often forced to give up his bed or his cow to pamper an indolent priesthood whose teachings he repudiated, and a bloated church whose rites he renounced—for, to this robbery he not only then, but now, is subjected, in common with the Dissenters of all denominations. To all this, one may enter his protest, while holding at arm's length the Catholic ritual. To worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without human molestation or earthly fear, is the divine right of every man, whether he be Irish Catholic or English Protestant, Massachusetts freeman or Louisiana slave.

A further notice of the repeal of the Catholic Penal Code is postponed till the next number.

H. B. S.

For the National Era.

STATISTICS OF FRANCE:

Its Population, Agriculture, Education, Administration of Justice, Religion, Finances, &c.

BY W. G. SNETHEN, COUNSELLOR AT LAW, WASHINGTON.

No. 3.

THE SCHOOLS OF FRANCE.

Under Bonaparte, a body of educated men was organized under the title of *Universite,* which has continued, with some modifications, to the beginning of the year 1848, to hold the chief direction of education in France. Of this body, which is incorporated by law, and which possesses large disposable funds, arising from real estate, of Government grants, and pay pupils, all public teachers are members. The highest officer of this University is the Minister of Public Instruction, who has a seat in the Cabinet. He makes all the appointments in the University, and fills all vacancies in the Academies and Colleges, upon the recommendation of the local authorities, by whom the strictest examinations are instituted. He is assisted by a council of ten members, men of the highest rank in the literary and scientific world. No school of any kind can be opened in any part of France without permission from the University. The proposition to abolish this restriction in the new Constitution failed. Twenty-six University Academies are established in France, and the whole territory is divided into as many academical circuits, of which the following towns are the seats of the respective Academies, viz:

Aix, Amiens, Angers, Besançon, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Cahors, Clermont, Dijon, Douai, Grenoble, Limoges, Lyon, Metz, Montpellier, Nancy, Nimes, Orléans, Paris, Pau, Poitiers, Rennes, Rouen, Strasbourg, Toulouse.

Each Academy consists of a superintendent, who inspects all schools of public instruction within his circuit, and reports to the University at Paris. He is assisted in the exercise of his functions by a council of ten, and this body is the administrative portion of the Academy. If the Academy be complete, the course of instruction comprehends five faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine, Literature, Sciences. To each Academy is attached one College or more, which is a preparatory school, and corresponds to the American high school. Paris has several Colleges, and all the principal towns one or more. No one is admitted into the Academies who has not passed the Colleges. In 1833, a law was passed requiring every Commune by itself, or by union with other Communes, should have one primary or elementary school, in which reading, writing, arithmetic, and the system of weights and measures, should be taught. Every Commune having more than 6,000 population was also required to have a high school, in which the elements of geometry and its application to the arts, the elements of chemistry and natural history as applied to the ordinary habits and pursuits of life, the elements of history and geography, and especially of France, should be taught. It was further required that every Department should have a national school, or school for the instruction of teachers, either by itself or by union with an adjoining Department. These schools might be established and supported by private foundations, donations, legacies, but the commercial, departmental, and general governments were required to establish and support them in the absence of private enterprise.

All who are incapable of paying for the instruction of their children have them educated gratis at the elementary instruction, and a certain number of the non-paying pupils are selected after an examination and educated gratis at the Commercial High Schools, the Colleges, and the Academies. The teachers of the elementary schools have a residence, and receive forty dollars annual salary. The teachers of the commercial high schools have a residence also, and receive eighty dollars a year.

The whole charge to France of the Department of Public instruction, according to the budgets 1838 and 1848, is exhibited in the following table:

	1838. Francs.	1848. Francs.
Central administration	686,623	622,000
General services	238,000	716,700
Departmental and Academic administration	919,900	749,100
Academic instruction	1,972,050	3,007,206
Collegiate instruction	1,655,600	2,541,700
Elementary instruction	1,600,000	7,767,000
High School instruction	3,500,000	
Normal Schools	200,000	
Literary and Scientific establishments	7,676,500	2,086,277
Subscription to literary works, encouragement to authors, and publication of unedited works	557,000	767,200
	19,005,673	18,258,183

Notwithstanding this great annual expenditure, the French people, at the present hour, are universally deficient in common school education. The law for creating common schools has not been and is not now rigorously executed. The monarchy of Louis Philippe was recreant to the cause of education. It kept up a show in favor of it, but in reality did nothing to promote it.

In 1836 there were only—

36,000 elementary schools for boys,	
11,000 elementary schools for girls,	
47,000, containing in winter 2,170,000 pupils, and in summer 1,300,000.	

In the same year there were only 73 normal schools for training teachers for the elementary schools; 873 boarding schools; 94 high schools; 322 commercial colleges, with only 27,000 pupils; 41 royal colleges, with 15,900 pupils.

In the year 1829, out of every 100 young men enrolled in the military census, the proportion of them that could read and write, in the Department of Meuse, was 74; in that of Seine, 71; and in that of Corrège, only 12! Going to the field to learn the art military is not a very favorable school for the acquirement of letters and morals.

The following table, from the official returns, will show, in colors not to be mistaken, the shameful neglect of education of the masses, during the false government of Louis Philippe:

1. Unable to read and write	16,855,000
2. Able to read, but not to write	7,097,000
3. Able to read and write, but incorrectly	6,968,000
4. Able to read and write correctly	2,430,000
5. Professing the elements of classical education	735,000
6 Having completed their classical education	315,000
	34,400,000

The official returns, up to 1847, inclusive, show a gradual falling off in expenditure for public schools. Indeed, education is the only department in which the Government and the People of France have not made a progress corresponding to their progress in other things. The general feeling among the people is not awake to the importance of general education, and the Government has done nothing to awaken it to a sense of the value of the knowledge.

In England, in 1847, one out of every 40 persons could not write his name. In the State of Massachusetts, in the same year, one out of every 300 individuals was in this predicament; while in France, in 1847, one out of every two, or every other person, could not only not write his name, but could not form a single letter of the alphabet!

PUBLIC WORSHIP IN FRANCE.

The predominant religion of France is the Roman Catholic, but in Old Alsace and Languedoc there is a large number of Protestants.

The whole country is divided into 14 Archbishoprics and 66 Bishoprics. These divisions are the work of the Government.

The Cardinals receive £1,300 a year; the Archbishops, £800; and the Bishops, £600. The working clergy, of whom there is one at least in every Commune, get from £20 to £60 a year.

The number of the Catholic clergy in France in 1848 was as follows:

Archbishops	14
Bishops	66
Vicars General	174
Canons	660
Curés	3,401
Desservans	26,776
Vicarice	6,184
	37,275

The Protestants are of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches—the members of the former in Old Alsace, in Paris, and in the Department of Isère. Those of the Reformed Church amount to one million, and dwell chiefly in the south of Languedoc and near Rochelle, the abode of the old Huguenots. Some Baptists are found in the Departments of Jura and Vosges, and are noted for the simplicity and purity of their life. The Jews are scattered over France, and numbered 60,000 in 1838.

The Catholic priests are chiefly educated in seminaries established expressly for clerical instruction. There is one central clerical school at Paris, and over 250 seminaries in the rest of France. At Strasbourg is the chief place of instruction for the Lutherans, and at Montauban for the Calvinists or Reformed Church people.

The cost to the State of the maintenance of public worship in 1838 and 1848 will be seen by reference to the following table:

	1838. Francs.	1848. Francs.
Central administration	178,500	246,000
Cardinals, Bishops, &c.	1,017,000	1,057,000
Parochial clergy, &c.	28,145,000	30,865,000
Chapel St. Denis	112,000	112,000
Seminaries	1,000,000	1,000,000
Grant to ecclesiastics, &c.	1,070,000	880,000
Cathedral service	455,000	537,000
Buildings, &c., for worship	1,600,000	3,500,000
Grants, &c.	862,000	761,300
Protestant sects	924,000	2,287,050
Jews, &c.	90,000	170,000
	35,443,500	40,415,950

MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Governor Smith, of Virginia, in his message this year, refers briefly to the controversy concerning the attempt to abolish freedom in our new Territories, in a style that would not discredit the chivalry of South Carolina:

"But, gentlemen, I regret to see a determination manifested in certain sections of our Union to exclude our Southern population from our new acquisitions. I am mortified also to believe that this determination is the result in part of the conviction that we will submit to such exclusion. It is my anxious desire to see this question settled during the session of Congress, which commences this day; but, if not, I have great confidence in the patriotism of the Senate of the United States, and have strong hope, from the position and character of the President elect, that he will not permit this unjust and oppressive policy to be consummated by giving to it his official sanction. If, however, the policy of exclusion should prevail by the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, or any other kindred measure, then indeed the day of compromise will have past, and the dissolution of our great and glorious Union will become necessary and inevitable. May God in his mercy, however, pass this cup from our lips. In the mean time, I recommend the passage of firm and temperate resolves, similar in character and principle to those unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on the 8th day of March, 1847."

The Governor is about as sensible as a man who, after having resolved to hang himself, should pray God most devoutly to keep his neck out of the halter.

The same functionary repeats for the third time his recommendation to deport fifty thousand free colored Virginians from their native State. We copy from the message the entire passage on this subject:

"By the penitentiary report, we also learn that, on the first day of October last, there were in the penitentiary 119 white, and 81 negro convicts, the white population contributing about 15 for each 100,000 persons, and the free negroes contributing, from similar numbers of their own race, about 160 persons, to the penitentiary; proving that the free negro perpetrates at least ten times as much crime in proportion to numbers as the white man. This statement, verified by our legislation, presents such a picture of the moral degradation of our free negro population as is well calculated to excite the sympathy of the philanthropist. Without meaning to enter into any discussion, as to the moral and intellectual capacity of the negro, as to which I have heretofore very fully and distinctly expressed my opinion, I ask how it is possible that he can be other than he is, under the laws to which we subject him? Born in a hovel, the companion of the slave, and the tool of the vicious white man, he naturally sympathizes with the degradation around him. By law, he is forbid to intermarry with the whites, to bear testimony against them, to learn to read and write, to preach the Word of God to his fellows, to bear arms, and to resent insults from a white man. Many other laws of the same character are on our statute book; and in every relation, from the cradle to the grave, he is never allowed to forget that he is of an inferior race. By the Providence of God, such is his destiny; and, according to naturalists, history, and the experience of all mankind, he is regarded as the third, or an inferior species of the race of man. But not content with this, by all the arts of legislation, we force him below that position in the scale of humanity to which he is naturally entitled. And is this state of things forever to continue? Are the promptings of benevolence and the pleadings of philanthropy to be in vain? I am aware that our policy, as indicated by our laws, cannot be relaxed; the stern necessities of our condition forbid it. But there is a way in which I would hope the condition of the free negro might be alleviated; it is to deport him, to send him beyond our limits, into communities where the disabilities which oppress him here do not exist; where his moral and intellectual qualities may be developed, and the great problem solved of his fitness and capacity for freedom. Shall it be done, gentlemen; or will you still retain this class among us in a state of hopeless, never-ending degradation? In my former messages, I presented this subject for consideration, and was denounced from different quarters for the inhumanity of my proposition. I now repeat it; and the question is, who is justly liable to this charge—he who wishes to remove the free negro to other places, where he will be freed from our soul-degrading legislation, and where he would have a right to learn to stand up and feel and say I am a man—or he who persists in retaining him in our midst, subject to the inexorable legislation to which I have adverted? This question I leave with you, and with the country, without uneasiness or apprehension.

"But the objection to the removal of our free negroes, upon the ground of its inhumanity, is not well considered, in other respects. It is impossible that such a population can have strong local attachments. Indeed, it is a feeling very much weakened with all classes of our population from the habit of emigration, which has long extensively prevailed. Scarcely a family of the highest respectability and wealth which has not sent out one or more of their members to people our western valleys. Our slaves, too, with better habits, and with feelings of a purer and more domestic character than those usually possessed by our free negroes, are daily emigrating to the South, and that, frequently, (from the necessities of masters,) without regard to domestic ties. By our law, if a slave be freed, he is compelled to leave the State, no matter how strong may be his attachments, or what ties may be sundered. We are also familiar with the policy of removing Indian tribes by force, upon a large scale, and within a few years past; and, indeed, we are indebted to this policy for the homes we occupy, and the noble State of which we are so justly proud. With all proper deference, then, to the opinions of others, I conclude that there is in this objection nothing that presents any real difficulty.

"But the free negro seriously affects the value of our slaves. He awakens in the slave new appetites and wants, teaches the road to crime, makes him restless and dissatisfied, increases the spirit of insubordination, and consequently imposes a severity which otherwise would be unnecessary. Of the eighty-one negro convicts now in the penitentiary, ten are there for the crime of stealing and enticing away slaves.

"Nor is this the only way in which the free negro acts injuriously. In every community of whites, there are some to be found with vicious and immoral propensities, who are tempted to commit crime, from the ease with which they can obtain in the free negro a convenient tool. In this way, and in many others which it would not be proper, perhaps, to enumerate, the beauty and purity of our social state is seriously demoralized.

"Although the fifty thousand free negroes in our State, with few exceptions, are known to be thriftless and unproductive, and live mainly by depredation upon the labor of others, yet they congregate in our villages, and do the little jobs that arise in the progress of ordinary labor, wholly superseding, by the smallness of their compensation and the character of its payment, the employment of white men; thus creating a moral necessity for the emigration of no inconsiderable portion of our laboring white population. I can appeal with confidence to the experience of every member of the General Assembly in support of the truth of the above view; and I ask if this of itself does not give this subject a claim to your favorable consideration?

"The legislation in relation to the free negro, to which I have heretofore adverted, is the result of long experience and intimate knowledge of the free negro race, and cannot be relaxed. And we must deliberately and calmly ask ourselves, whether we will not at once, in a bold and comprehensive spirit, adopt the policy I have recommended, which is plainly requisite for its happiness, and the true interests and prosperity of the State. It is difficult to imagine a policy more interesting to the country, or more fraught with the good of all concerned. To us, the good will be broad, deep, and all-pervading. Not an element in our character, not an interest of our people, but will feel its refreshing influence. May I not then hope, gentlemen, that, in pressing this important measure, for the third time, upon your attention, I shall not have done so in vain.

"Of the right to consummate this measure, I entertain no doubt. I attempted to make that plain in my last message. The details of the plan are few and simple, and can be easily executed. Nor is there any difficulty in finding places to which to send them. Liberia, the French and English Islands, and some of the free States, especially New York and Massachusetts, are all eager, if I am to believe the evidences before me, to receive them. The British islands, I have no doubt, from information in my possession, would pay the expense of all those sent to them. And Massachusetts, a few years ago, in an elaborate exposition to the American People, admitted, and undertook to convince others, that the free negro is an American citizen, and entitled to go and come at will. With this acknowledged right, he could there find a home, and not a vessel would sail from our shores for that ancient and prosperous Commonwealth, but would be happy to take, at a cheap rate, from fifty to one hundred passengers. Then, where is the difficulty? In ten years, at an expense of $20,000 a year, our State may be freed from the curse of our free negro population. Profoundly convinced of the wisdom and humanity of this measure, and its all-pervading importance to our beloved Commonwealth, I earnestly recommend it to the General Assembly."

The Governor, after stating the disproportionate amount of colored and white convicts in the penitentiary, is frank enough to ascribe the degradation of the free people of color to "the soul-crushing legislation" of the State. The plain dictate of humanity and common sense, then, is, to reform this legislation. The vices of the free blacks being the result rather of inhuman laws, than of their own nature, the obvious remedy is, to repeal the laws, not expel their victims.

The Governor enters into no vindication of the black code—which he stigmatizes as "soul-crushing;" but merely says that it is "the result of long experience and intimate knowledge of the free negro race." The truth is, this legislation is not the result of experience, but of prejudice and mistaken self-interest, and is founded upon an entire misapprehension of Human Nature. There has been no trial in Virginia of a just, and humane code in relation to these people. No systematic attempt has been made to improve their character, and meliorate their condition. The fruits of oppressive laws in Virginia are evil, only evil, and that continually. This the Governor admits. Suppose the laws were substituted by *just* ones, what might be expected? No society was ever benefited by injustice—no society can ever fail to be benefited by Justice. Wiser and more humane laws, by securing the free colored people the means of self-improvement and the acquisition of intelligence, would make them less thriftless, more virtuous, less apt to be used as instruments of crime by vicious whites, and even less dangerous to the slave-population.

Were there no alternative but deportation, or their perpetual degradation under oppressive laws, we should agree with Governor Smith, that the former policy would be humane; and, we see not how those who are bent on perpetuating such laws, can resist the force of his reasoning. But there is a more excellent way; reform the "soul-crushing legislation"—give to the free colored people the facilities of self-improvement—treat them as *men,* and in due time they will cease to be felt or regarded as "nuisances."

"Wife," said a married man, looking for his bootjack after she was in bed, "I have a place for all things, and you ought to know it." "Yes," says she, "I ought to know where you keep your late hours."

GENERAL TAYLOR—ANOTHER CONVERSATION.

We copy the following from the *Baltimore Sun* of Friday:

Washington, *Nov.* 28, 1848.

Governor Brown, member of the House of Representatives from Mississippi, arrived here today, and since his arrival has received a letter from Natchez, relative to the present opinions of General Taylor on the slavery question, from which I am permitted to make the following extract:

"Natchez, *Nov.* 15, 1848.

"Dear Sir: As all parties concede that General Taylor is elected President, I hasten to inform you that he has thrown off all disguise, and conceals no opinion.

"S. S. Boyd, whom you know to be radical on the slavery question, and who often says that *Stephens's position is absurd,* called Bingham and myself one side yesterday, and told us that 'he had that day spent some hours with Gen. Taylor, and that he was right on all the points; and, without speaking of the Territories, the old gentleman distinctly and earnestly declared that, when the *North* attempted to interfere with the slave question, he was for *drawing the sword and throwing away the scabbard!*'

"About this, Boyd says there is no mistake, and he does not hesitate to pronounce 'Old Zach' perfectly sound. Of all this you may rest assured. What change other influences may make in his mind, I cannot say, but his Southern friends, who hear him talk on the subject, say he is not the man to give up an opinion deliberately formed.

"He will go with the free States on the Tariff and Internal Improvement questions, and with the slave States on the Free Soil question. * *

"Yours, truly, F. L. Claiborne.

"*Hon A. G. Brown.*"

General Quitman, the Mr. Boyd above mentioned, and other Southern gentlemen, I hear it stated, entertain the opinion that the South should take the *extreme ground* on the slavery question, and then compromise. They are for extending slavery to California and New Mexico, and compromising by yielding the right to *slave representation* in Congress.

Mr. Claiborne, who writes the above, is Francis Lee Claiborne, brother of the former distinguished member of that name, and a good Democrat of the Southern school. Mr. Bingham, named in the letter, has been a candidate for Congress on several occasions, and was among the earliest supporters of General Taylor for the Presidency. So also in regard to Mr. Boyd. He is a distinguished Taylor "stump orator" in Mississippi, and one of the most eminent lawyers of that State.

We attach little credit to this report. General Taylor, in our deliberate opinion, is pledged by his position to veto the Wilmot Proviso, should it pass Congress; but we very much doubt whether any authorized declaration of his, in relation to his intention, has found its way into the newspapers. The foregoing report seems to us apocryphal, although we doubt not he will stand with his Southern friends on the slavery question.

DOCUMENTS ACCOMPANYING THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

It is unnecessary to fill our paper with the documents accompanying the President's Message. They embrace minute details of the least possible interest to the great majority of readers. Brief abstracts will suffice.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

This report occupies nearly six columns of the Union, the first of which is chiefly devoted to an official account of the transactions of the army in Mexico, resuming the narrative at the point where it closed in the report of last year, and terminating it with the withdrawal of the troops from Mexico.

The peace establishment is now about what it was at the breaking out of the war with Mexico. If complete, it would amount to 9,878 officers and soldiers, exclusive of the enlisted men of the ordnance, but its actual numerical strength will generally fall considerably below this.

Some changes have been made in the military divisions, so as to adapt them to increased territory. The Eastern is the same as it was; Texas and New Mexico have been added to the Western; California and Oregon constitute the third, or the division of the Pacific.

With a view to an earlier relief to the people of Oregon than could be afforded by the troops to be sent thither over land, orders have been issued to the commander of the Pacific squadron to despatch a part of his force to Oregon, with arms and ammunition, &c.

To save time, orders were issued to the General-in-chief, at headquarters in Mexico, in anticipation of peace, to send a regiment thence to California, but the Mexican Government refused to permit its passage to the Pacific coast.

"Orders were also given to Gen. Wool, then in command of the forces at Saltillo, Monterey, and on the Rio Grande frontier, to send a part of the regular troops with him directly to California and New Mexico. Pursuant to this direction, two companies of the 1st and two of the 2d dragoons proceeded up the right bank of the Rio Grande to Chihuahua, crossed over to the Gila, and down that river to California. By this time, it is probable they have reached their ultimate destination.

"One company of dragoons and one of light artillery were also sent from the Rio Grande, and proceeded on the Mexican side of it up to Santa Fe. These have already arrived in New Mexico.

"Two companies of the 1st regiment of artillery have embarked at New York, to go around Cape Horn to Oregon, and the 2d regiment of infantry has also left, to proceed by the same route to California. As early in the spring as a passage can be made across the country, other troops will be sent to Oregon, in numbers sufficient to hold and protect that Territory.

"Troops to guard the Rio Grande frontier, and keep in check the Indians in that quarter, have been ordered to Texas, and have arrived at, or are on their way to, their respective stations.

"The remainder of the army is distributed on the Indian and Northern frontiers, and on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts."

The amount, thus far reported, of contributions and avails of captured property received by officers of the army in Mexico, is $3,844,373.77—a sum that will be increased by amounts collected in New Mexico and California. Of this, $67,492 33 have been retained for expenses of collection; $346,369 30 paid into the United States Treasury; $3,267,540 84 turned over to disbursing officers; $19,712.28 credited by the Mexican Government to the United States, on the first instalment due under the treaty; the remainder, $113,250.12, charged against the collecting officers. Of the amount turned over to the disbursing officers, $769 650 were applied towards the payment of the first instalment due under the treaty.

It is recommended that the additional paymasters authorized during the war, be continued as permanent. An additional number of surgeons and assistant surgeons is also recommended.

A board, composed of officers of the army and navy, has been constituted, with a view of examining the Pacific coast, so as to determine suitable points of defence and fortification.

"The appropriations for the army proper required for the next fiscal year amount to $4,432,286. The estimates for the transportation of the troops far exceed that of any other year previous to the war. The increase in this item is to meet the expenses of sending troops to Oregon, New Mexico, and California."

The business of the Pension Office has been vastly increased.

"The number of invalid pensioners has increased, during the last year, six hundred and ninety-one; the whole number on the list is three thousand one hundred and twenty-six.

"More than sixty thousand claims have been presented under the act of the 11th of February, 1847, for bounty land and Treasury scrip. About forty thousand of them have been acted on and allowed, twenty thousand are now pending, and it is estimated that there are forty thousand yet to be presented. Great efforts have been made to despatch these applications, and about two hundred and fifty are daily investigated and passed. For the details of the business in the Pension Office, I respectfully refer you to the report of the Commissioner."

The report closes with an interesting notice of Indian affairs:

"The law of 1847, giving additional authority to prevent the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors in the Indian country, and the stringent regulations adopted by the Department to restrain this pernicious traffic, have sensibly diminished the amount of suffering among the frontier tribes, arising from that prolific source of evil; but an effectual check to it cannot be applied, unless the States lying adjacent to the Indian country will coöperate in the measure by restraining their citizens from bringing intoxicating liquors within the reach of the Indians. The policy of paying annuities semi-annually, and of distributing them *per capita,* has been attended by the happiest results. The new regulations in regard to licenses to trade with the Indians, and the rigid supervision over the conduct of those to whom this privilege has been granted, have put an end to many evils and abuses which formerly prevailed, and were highly detrimental to the interests and welfare of the Indians.

"No subject connected with our Indian affairs has so deeply interested the Department, and received so much of its anxious solicitude and attention, as that of education; and I am happy to be able to say that its efforts to advance this cause have been crowned with success. Among most of the tribes which have removed to and become settled in the Indian country, the blessings of education are beginning to be appreciated, and they generally manifest a willingness to coöperate with the Government in diffusing these blessings. The schools already established have an increased number of pupils, and preparations are making for establishing many new ones. Much credit is due to many excellent missionary societies, of different Christian denominations, for their aid and contributions to sustain and advance the cause of education among the Indian population.

"There are sixteen manual-labor schools and eighty-seven boarding and district schools now in successful operation among the various Indian tribes, and the number of Indian youths attending them, according to the reports received at the Department, is three thousand six hundred and eighty-two—of which two thousand six hundred and fifty are males, and the remaining one thousand and thirty-two are females. The schools are generally in charge of missionary societies, and are well conducted. These facts afford the most gratifying evidence that nearly all of our colonized tribes are rapidly advancing in civilization and moral improvement; and I trust it may not be improper on this occasion for me to say, that for the highly improved and rapidly improving condition of the numerous Indian tribes over which the guardianship of the Government is extended, not only in regard to education, but most other respects, no stinted measure of credit is to be ascribed to the ability, industry, and faithfulness, of that branch of this Department to which the management of our diversified and difficult Indian affairs is assigned.

"Within the newly acquired Territories there is a numerous Indian population, over which our supervision and guardianship must necessarily be extended; but this cannot be effectually done without the action of Congress on the subject. Additional agencies are required, to manage Indian affairs in these Territories, and to extend to them our Indian system of control and management which in other parts of our country has already produced such happy results, and is so full of promise for the future."

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

This report, occupying nearly six columns of the Union, embraces a great amount of detail of very little interest to the people generally.

Two columns of the report are devoted to a statement of the present disposition of our navy, and a narrative of the final operations of our squadrons on the Mexican coast.

A flattering tribute is paid to the skill and bravery which distinguished the conduct of the navy in its coöperation with the army under General Scott, in its descent on Vera Cruz.

The report recognises the wisdom of the policy of this country, which demands, in time of peace, a comparatively small naval establishment:

"The establishment of docks and yards for building and repair of ships, the collection and preparation of materials, the construction of ships of war ready for launching, and the purchase of cannon and munitions of war in quantities suitable for emergencies, are measures of wise precaution. But in the vast mercantile and mechanical business of our country, these supplies, to a certain extent, perhaps to an extent sufficient for the exigency, may be procured when the occasion for expansion shall arise. So, too, the hardy mariners in our merchant service would readily furnish efficient crews for the increased number of ships fitted for war, which a maritime war may render necessary. The difficulty of such a crisis, I apprehend, will not be in providing guns or ships, nor will it be in finding brave hearts and ready hands to man and fight them; the difficulty will be neither in men to fight, nor materials to use, but as to officers in sufficient number and with adequate experience to command and direct."

The report of course insists on the policy of retaining on the navy list a larger number of officers than may be required in time of peace for the active duties of their rank. (How such supernumeraries, engaged in no active duties, are to acquire so much more skill, hardihood, tact, and science in navigation, than if constantly employed in the arduous duties of the mercantile marine, he does not explain.)

In regard to the principle of promotion, he recommends a modification of the present system, which regulates promotions by seniority or date of commission:

"The safest and best mode, it appears to me, is to require by law that officers rendered unfit for duty, otherwise than by wounds received in battle, or not qualified for promotion to higher grades, should be placed, on reduced pay, out of the line of promotion. Justice and policy would require that great care should be taken against the exercise of such a power capriciously, or without a due regard to the rights of all."

The naval school at Annapolis is strongly recommended, as affording the best means for providing educated officers for the navy.

The number of steamers for the Pacific route, required by contract, have been completed:

"The connected lines, in all their parts, will, it is expected, be in successful operation early in the ensuing spring, and a regular communication established between New York and Oregon. The time occupied in the passage will not exceed thirty-five days, and, at no distant day, it is confidently believed that a regular communication will be established by a connecting line of steamers between San Francisco and China, making the passage in twenty days. This may readily be effected by means of the war steamers now being constructed, as parts of the squadron in the East Indies and the Pacific, until individual enterprise shall have introduced steamers better suited for freight and passengers.

"The transit of intelligence, merchandise, and passengers, from China to Europe, by way of New York, can be effected when those several lines shall be in operation in connection with the line from that city to Liverpool, in less than one-half the time now occupied in the voyage between those countries.

"The communication by steamers regularly plying on the two routes, now about to commence, cannot fail to increase our general commerce, and to bring to our Atlantic cities a large import of the precious metals; and this, with the facility afforded to our enterprising countrymen to visit or to emigrate to the rich territories on the Pacific, more than compensates the expense of the great undertaking."

The Secretary recommends that authority be given to contract for the transportation of the mail between Vera Cruz and New Orleans, in steamships, convertible into war steamers. Such intercourse will foster good feeling between the two countries, and facilitate their trade.

The contractor for the line between New York and Liverpool has his vessels in a state of forwardness. As perfection of workmanship is an object of vast importance, it has been advisable not to hurry him:

"I have the honor to submit the reports from the several bureaus of the Department, with the estimates for the naval service, and for other ob-

jects placed under the control of this Department, for the fiscal year ending with the 30th of June, 1850.

"The gross amount of estimate is $8,858,856.58; of which the following, being for special objects, must be deducted, to ascertain the probable annual expense of the navy:

For transportation of the mails	$874,600
For floating dry docks, basins, and railways	650,000
Completing stone dock at New York	490,000
Improvements, &c., at navy yards	846,310
	2,860,910

Which sums being deducted, will leave for one year's expense of the naval service, including invalid and widows' pensions and the marine corps, $5,997,946.58.

"I have the honor herewith to transmit a statement from the Fourth Auditor's Office, showing the exact amount of appropriations and expenditures made for the entire public service under the control of the Navy Department in each year from the 30th of June, 1844, to the first day of July, 1848; by which it will appear that the aggregate amount of expenditures for the two fiscal years ending on the 30th of June, 1845 and 1846, amounted to $14,967,036.09, and the aggregate amount expended in the two years ending on the 30th June, 1848, was $21,599,661.18.

"The first two were in time of peace; the last two embrace, with a trifling exception, the entire period of the war with Mexico. In the last two, it is worthy of remark, that for the construction of war steamers authorized by Congress, but not intended or expected to be employed in the war, and for other special objects, very considerable expenditures were made under appropriations for the purpose, so that the ordinary expenses of the naval service have been but slightly increased by the war with Mexico.

"On the first day of July last, it appears that there remained in the Treasury an unexpended balance of the year's appropriations for the naval service of $3,295,630.57. Of this sum, one million seven hundred and ninety-five thousand six hundred and thirty dollars fifty-seven cents were carried to the surplus fund; and, as authorized by law, the balance remains subject to expenditure, if required during the current fiscal year.

"Besides the ships on the stocks, in ordinary, undergoing repairs, and in commission, and excluding navy yards and other public lands required for purposes of the navy, with their costly improvements, the reports herewith submitted show that the public property on hand for naval purposes amounts in the aggregate to $9,400,370."

REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Post Office Department, Dec. 2, 1848.

Sir: The post routes in operation within the United States, on the 30th day of June last, were 163,208 miles in extent, and the annual transportation of the mails over them was 41,012,579 miles, costing $2,418,766, as follows, to wit:

On railroads, 4,327,400 miles, costing	$584,192
In steamboats, 4,385,800 miles, costing	262,019
Agencies connected therewith	54,063
In coaches, 14,555,188 miles, costing	796,992
In other modes not specified, 17,744,191 miles, costing	751,500
And in addition thereto, for foreign mail service	100,500

The table of mail service, for the year ending the 30th of June, 1848, made up from the state of the service as it stood at the close of the year exhibits, as compared with the table of 1847, an increase in the length of the routes in the United States of 9,390 miles, and an increase on the amount of annual transportation of 2,124,680 miles; but a decrease in cost of transportation of - $12,145

There is, however, an increase in the cost of agencies, to be deducted, of	7,910
Leaving a balance of saving in the cost of our inland mails for 1848, as compared with 1847, of	4,235
But the cost of foreign mails, which appears for the first time in the tables of this year, is	100,500
And deducting from this the saving above stated	4,235
Leaves an excess of cost for 1848 over 1847 of	96,265

For this we have 2,121,680 miles more of annual transportation of our inland mails, and the conveyance of our foreign mails every other month, a distance of 3,800 miles and back.

The new contracts made at the last annual lettings for the middle section, embracing New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Ohio, went into operation on the 1st July, 1848, and exhibit a saving for the current year, to end 30th of June next, upon the cost of the same section for the past year, of $61,674. This is a saving of nearly 12 per cent. Notwithstanding this reduction of cost, the service has been increased under the new contracts. The routes have been extended in distance 293 miles further, and in this way, and by greater frequency of trips, this section of service has become greater than last year by 658,892 miles of annual transportation.

	Miles.
On 1st July, 1845, the annual transportation of the mails in the United States amounted to	35,631,269
On the 30th June, 1846, to	37,398,114
Increase in service over the preceding year	1,764,145
On 30th June, 1847, amounted to	38,887,899
Increase over preceding year	1,489,485
On 30th June, 1848, amounted to	41,012,579
Increase over preceding year	2,124,680
Total increase for the 3 years	5,378,310

But the cost of the service was lessened as follows:

On 1st July, 1845, it stood at	$2,905,504
On 30th June, 1846	2,716,673
Reduction from the preceding year	188,831
On 30th June, 1847, it stood at $2,453,001. Reduction from the preceding year	263,672
On 30th June, 1848, it stood at $2,448,866. Reduction from the preceding year	4,235
Total reduction of cost in the 3 years	456,738

This is exclusive of the foreign mail service performed in the last year.

The operations of the three years show that the mail service has been augmented fifteen per cent., and its cost at the same time diminished 15 7-10 per cent.

The results of the mail lettings last spring, in the middle section, will add to the service of the current year 658,897 miles more of annual transportation, while it makes a reduction from the cost of the year ending June 30, 1848, of $61,674.

The number of mail contractors in the service during the last year was 4,017, and the number of local and mail agents and mail messengers 248, connected with the service on railroads and steamboats.

The service during the year has been performed by the contractors with commendable zeal and activity. Yet no energy can prevent occasional failures to deliver the mails in due time. In sections of the country where no turnpikes or macadamized roads, or bridges over the streams, exist, at certain seasons of the year failures are unavoidable, even on the most improved and best conducted routes. Unfavorable weather, ice or snow on the railroads, storms or fogs on the rivers, or slight accidents to the machinery, must delay the mails. The speed now given on them renders it seldom possible to regain the time lost. This has been, and always must be, the case.

There is, at this time, more service performed, with more speed, and with as much regularity, as at any former period; nor is it believed that more expedition can be given on the principal mail routes, until further improvements are made on the roads, without endangering the connections necessary to be made to insure the prompt and punctual delivery of the mails.

The foreign service, during the past year, has been increased by an additional steamer, the Hermann, being placed on the line between New York and Bremen, and monthly trips are now performed between these two cities with regularity.

On the 17th of October last, the Isabel was placed on the line between Charleston and Havana, in compliance with the contract with Messrs. Mordecai & Gourdin, and will hereafter perform semi-monthly trips.

The ocean steamers California, Panama, and Oregon, constructed under a contract with the Secretary of the Navy, for service on the Pacific, have sailed from New York for Panama, and the California is expected to commence service for this Department on the 1st of January next, from Panama to Oregon.

The Secretary of the Navy has likewise employed the Falcon on the line between Havana and Chagres, and she is expected to sail from Havana to Chagres in time for the mails to reach Panama, and be forwarded by the California to the Territories on the Pacific coast. This Department has made a contract for the transportation of the mails across the Isthmus, from Chagres to Panama; so that in future there will be a regular monthly mail from Charleston, by Havana, Chagres, and Panama, to Oregon.

The number of post offices on 1st July last was 16,159, being an increase during the year of 1,013. The number of offices established was 1,309. The number discontinued 296.

The number of postmasters appointed during the year, was 4,121. Of this number, 2,169 were appointed in consequence of resignations, 181 in consequence of deaths, 240 in consequence of changing sites of offices, 197 in consequence of removals, 3 in consequence of expiration of commissions which were not renewed, 14 in consequence of commissions renewed, 6 in consequence of becoming Presidential appointments, 1,309 in consequence of new offices. The number of appointments made between the 4th of March, 1845, and 1st of July, 1848, was 13,507; of this number, the removals were 1,598; the balance were made in consequence of resignations, deaths, changes of the sites of the offices, or the establishment of new ones. The act of the 17th May, 1848, directing the accounts of postmasters, from the 1st January, 1847, to be readjusted, and that they be allowed their commissions by the quarter instead of the year, has been executed, and the sum of $112,213.44, has been paid to 5,136 postmasters.

The gross revenue of the year ending on 30th June last, including $200,000 appropriated by the 12th section of the act of 3d March, 1847, for the postages of the Government, and the further sum of $48,739 collected from and belonging to the accounts of preceding years amounted to $4,371,077. This sum exceeds that of the preceding year, $425,184, being an increase of 10.77-100 per cent.; and exceeds the annual average of the nine years preceding the 1st July, 1845, $6,453.

The letter postage, including the $200,000 appropriated as above stated, amounted to $3,550,304, exceeding that of the preceding year, $295,791, being an increase at the rate of 9.09-100 per cent.

The newspaper postage for the year amounted to $767,331, making an increase of $124,174, which is equal to 19 30-100 per cent.

The following table exhibits the revenues, including the $200,000 appropriated for the postages of the Government, as well as the expenditures from 1st July, 1845, to 30th June, 1848:

			Revenue.	Expenditure.
For year ending 30th June,	1846		$3,487,199	$4,084,296
Do.	do.	1847	3,945,893	3,971,310
Do.	do.	1848	4,371,077	4,326,850

The expenditures for the year have been increased by the following items, which do not properly belong to it, viz: The sum allowed J. L. Graham for fitting up the New York post office, by the act of 14th August, 1848, $49,787.

The amount paid the Bremen line of steamers, since 1st July last, and charged in the accounts of last year, $83,333. The amount paid to postmasters as extra commissions since 1st January, 1847, by the act of the 17th May, 1848, was $112,213.44, two-fifths of which should be deducted from the expenses of the present year, $44,885—$128,005; which makes the expenses properly chargeable to the past year, $4,198,845. This includes also the sum of $100,000, paid the Bremen steamers during the year, while the income arising therefrom is reported to be $29,082.83. It is, however, perceived but too late for correction for this report, that the postages on mails, to and from England and France, are in part or wholly omitted. This exceeds the expenditure of the preceding year, $227,535, and falls short of the annual average expenditure for nine years preceding the 1st July, 1845, $300,748.

The gross revenue arising from postages and fines, excluding those arising from miscellaneous sources, as well as the $200,000 appropriated for the postages of the Executive departments for the year ending 30th June, 1848, amounted to	$4,117,761
From the same sources the year preceding	3,832,689
Increase, making 7.43 per cent. increase.	285,072
If the revenue from the same sources shall increase during the present year at the rate of six per cent., the proceeds will be	4,364,826
To this may be added the amount due from the Treasury, for mail services from 4th March, 1847, to 30th June, 1849, appropriated by the 12th section of act of 1847	465,555
Means applicable to the present year	4,830,381

Leaving a surplus over the estimated expenditures for the current year	428,336
If the revenue for the year ending 30th June, 1850, shall increase at the rate of 5 per cent upon the estimated revenue of 1849, the amount will be	4,583,068
Add surplus of 1849	428,336
Annual appropriation for postages of Government	200,000
Estimated means for 1850	5,211,404
Expenditures properly chargeable on the year 1848	4,198,845
These will be increased during the present year by the following items:	
Steamers from Charleston to Havana, three quarters	37,500
California and Oregon agent	3,200
Additional railroad service and agents	37,500
Ship Hermann, belonging to the Bremen line	100,000
Miscellaneous	25,000
Expenditures for the year 1849	4,402,045
Estimated means of 1849	4,830,381
Surplus	428,336
The estimated expenditures of 1849	4,402,045
This sum will be increased for the year 1850 by the following items:	
Service on new post routes and railroads	100,000
Two additional steamers on the Panama line	200,000
Charleston and Havana service, one quarter, not included in 1849	12,500
Additional appropriation for Florida	5,000
California and Oregon agency, for 5 months, not included in 1849	2,300
Miscellaneous	25,000
Estimated expenditures of 1850	4,746,845
Estimated means of 1850	5,211,407
Surplus for 1850	464,562
There has accrued to the post office revenue, under the 12th section of the act of the 3d March, 1847, the following sums, to wit:	
From 4th March to 30th June, 1847	65,555
Do. do. 1848	200,000
Do. do. 1849	200,000
	465,555
	428,336
Estimated surplus, 30th June, 1849	37,219

It will be seen that, notwithstanding the very large sums estimated for foreign service, as well as the additional service required in the United States, the revenue of the Department, unaided by the appropriation of that act, will be equal to the expenditure, except the sum of $37,219, at the close of the present year.

This statement of the operations of the act of 1845, upon the service and finances of the Department, confirms the opinion expressed in my last annual report—"That the present low rates of postage will not only produce revenue enough to meet the expenditure, but leave a considerable surplus annually to be applied to the extension of the mail service, or would justify a still further reduction of the rates of postage."

Notwithstanding the great increase of the service during the last year, inland as well as foreign, there was found, at the close of the year, a surplus of $172,232 beyond the expenses properly chargeable upon it.

Accompanying this report, marked B, will be found that of the Auditor for the Post Office Department, made at my request.

The energy and zeal of the officers engaged in the collection and disbursement of the funds of the Department, as well as the punctuality and promptitude of postmasters in making payments and settling their accounts, deserve the highest commendation.

It appears that, from the 1st of July, 1845, until the 30th of June, 1848, the revenue, exclusive of the annual appropriation of $200,000 for services rendered the Government, amounted to 11,538,614. The whole has been collected except the following sums:

Of the amount due 30th June, 1846, the sum of				$6,162
Do.	do.	1847,	do.	5,056
Do.	do.	1848,	do.	26,714
				37,932

More than half the sum reported for the last year will be probably collected within the next three months.

The balance yet due is less than one-third of one per cent. on the whole amount.

The last year's accounts have been generally collected without a resort to the courts of justice. Suits have been ordered in ninety-one cases, involving only the sum of $3,271; whilst, during the same period, one hundred and eight cases, formerly pending, have been settled, and the money paid, amounting to $10,655. This large sum, collected within the three years, has been disbursed without the loss of a dollar, in payment of the public creditors, in due and proper time, it is believed, without an exception.

Prior to 1st of July, 1845, there were debts due the Department, many of long standing, amounting to $319,880. Of this sum, there has been collected within the past year $10,809, and credits allowed upon the settlement of accounts of $51,710, leaving yet a balance due the Department of $257,361. A very large proportion of this sum will be probably lost.

The present rates of postage will afford ample means to meet the expenditure and probable increase of the service, and leave a surplus that will in a few years enable the Department to repay the Treasury the amount received from it since the passage of the act of 1845.

Under these circumstances, shall a further reduction of the postages be made?

Whatever may be the system adopted, the means for its support must be paid in some way by a tax on the people, for whose benefit it is established. In the United States, upon this point, there has been little or no diversity of opinion. That it should be collected of those who enjoy the benefits of the system, by a charge on the matter conveyed in the mails, is so obviously just, as scarcely to have been questioned. It does not seem either just or fair, that those whose condition in life does not enable them to participate in its advantages should be called on by other modes of taxation to contribute to its support. The revenues arising from it have not heretofore been applied to any other purpose, except for a short time during the war of 1812; nor have the revenues derived from other sources been applied to its use, except to aid in the effort recently made for its improvement. It has been made to depend upon itself, and thereby giving to the Government the best security for the faithful administration of its finances. Perhaps no other means could be adopted more equitable and just.

A large number of the people have little or no connection with the mail system. To subject that class to share the burden of its support, by a direct tax, or by imposts levied upon the necessaries of life, would meet, it is believed, the approbation of but few disinterested citizens. If this be the correct principle, of which the undersigned has no doubt, every letter or package conveyed in the mails should pay a just and fair proportion of its cost of transportation, and other expenses attending the delivery. There should be no exception. Any departure from it would unnecessarily increase the amount to others who were taxed for its maintenance.

In ascertaining a standard by which the rates are to be adjusted, the cost on different routes in the several sections of the Union, the distance to be conveyed, the expense in the offices, of receiving, forwarding, and delivery, are too minute and unimportant to deserve much consideration.

The best, and the only practicable criterion, will be the expense of the whole system compared with the revenue, and the adoption of such a rate as experience shows to be enough to make the one meet the other, approaching as nearly as possible the cost.

Prior to the passage of the act of 1845, the rates of postage on letters were adjusted according to the number of pieces, making each one a single letter, and different sums paid, according to the distance they were conveyed, as if that was the principal element in estimating the cost. The principle was not entirely abandoned by the act of 1845, though much simplified and improved; while charging by the piece is entirely surrendered, and the more just and equitable mode, by weight, substituted. Experience proved that the rates, prior to the passage of that act, were too high for the purposes of revenue. For a series of years prior to that time, the expenditures regularly exceeded the income, exhibiting an annual average deficiency of about $125,000 for the eight years preceding the passage of the act. These deficiencies occurred while the transportation gradually diminished, within the last four or five years, about twelve thousand miles in extent; so that if the high rates of postage had been continued, the service must have been greatly diminished, or large sums of money drawn annually from the Treasury for its use.

The act of 1845 reduced the rates of postage more than one-half, and substituted the half ounce for a single letter, in lieu of the single piece of paper.

At the close of the first year, 30th June, 1846, the deficiency proved much less than was expected, only amounting to $597,098, and at the end of the second year only to $25,417, while at the end of the third year there was found a surplus of $172,232 beyond the proper expenses of the year, notwithstanding the very great increase in the service in each of the years. This was caused not only by an increase of the revenue, but by a reduction of the expenditures nearly equalling the increase. That, however, exceeded the expectation of the friends of the act.

The increased business in the offices, and the improvement of the revenue under the present rates of postage, leads to the conclusion, that the ten cent rate may be dispensed with at the close of the present year, if such other modifications of that act, as have been suggested in my former reports, should be adopted. In my last annual report an estimate was made of the paying letters which passed through the mails, for the year ending 30th June, 1847. This was founded upon the revenues of the preceding year, and the October returns of 1845, which had been made in pursuance of a resolution of Congress. From this it appeared that the number of letters paying postage, including ship and steamboat letters, ship letters forwarded in the mails, dropped letters, and printed circulars, amounted to 52,173,480. An estimate upon the same principle, for the year ending the 30th June last, would give as the number of paying letters 58,069,075. The October returns showed that over one-fourth, and less than one-third, of the letter postage was derived from the 10 cent rate. This, taken as the basis of calculation, would make 14,303,753 letters paying that rate. If, therefore, that rate should be dropped at the close of the present year, there would be a loss of $715,187 to be supplied from some other source during the next year.

It can scarcely be doubted that, with the surplus expected at the close of the present year, of $428,336, for the postages of the Government for the next year, the increase of correspondence, from the reduction in the rate of postage, and the abolition of the franking privilege, as well as the saving on dead letters, if pre-payment should be required, and the two cents that are paid for advertising, and for the delivery of free letters, would enable the Department to meet its expenditures from its own resources on the 30th of June, 1850. If, after that time, the business of the offices shall continue to increase as it has done since the act of 1845, which is probable, from the rapid increase of the population and business of the country, the Department would not be embarrassed for the want of means to meet any probable increase in the service.

One other consequence, expected by the friends of the act of 1845, and which was relied on as a certain means of improving the revenue, has not been realized. It was confidently believed that by such a reduction in the rates of postage, the business of the expresses would be made unprofitable and be abandoned. This has not been the case. The business, it is believed, between the principal cities, is continued with much activity, and the revenue seriously impaired by it. In a recent number of the *Pathfinder*, published in Boston, the names of 235 cities and villages are given, which are regularly supplied by express-men with packages from that city, and most of them, doubtless, conveying letters regularly out of the mails. The penalties now imposed by law are sufficient for their suppression, if proper means were placed in the hands of the Department for their detection; but it is believed that no rate of postage which would cover the expenses of the system, could be adopted, sufficiently low to induce them to abandon it.

In settling the rates of postage, it is not unimportant to have them correspond with the current and legal coins of the United States. The fewer the rates, the more convenient to the postmasters in performing their duties in their offices, and less liable to err in keeping their accounts, and settling them with the Department.

Simplicity in the rates, as well as in the mode of keeping their accounts, will promote cheapness as well as regularity in the transportation and delivery of the mails.

For the purpose of taxation, the matter conveyed in the mails should be classified as follows:

First—Letter postage should embrace all written communications, under seal or not, and each sealed packet or package. This class is composed of private confidential communications, often containing articles of value, partaking more of individual than public interest, requiring more care in their preservation, more labor in stamping, packing, and enveloping, than printed matter, and are always forwarded under lock and key; and should, therefore, be charged at a higher rate. A uniform rate of 5 cents, for each half ounce or fraction under, and another rate for each additional half ounce or fraction under, would be as low, in the opinion of the undersigned, as they could be made, consistently with the principles above stated.

Second—Newspapers. This class has always been esteemed of so much importance to the public, as the best means of disseminating intelligence generally among the people, that the lowest rate has always been applied, for the purpose of encouraging their circulation. Heretofore, the charge has been made upon each paper, without regard to weight, which is unjust to the publishers as well as the public; and there is no satisfactory reason why they should not be charged by weight, as well as letters and other sealed packages. This would lead to a discontinuance of the practice of depositing newspapers in the mails before they are dry, which renders them more liable to injury, and their weight is greatly increased from the dampness of the paper. A uniform rate of one cent upon each ounce or fraction under it, would be more just, and probably yield as much revenue as the present rates.

Third—All other printed matter, of whatever nature or kind, should be rated with double newspaper postage. Letters containing articles of value, upon the application of the writer, should be registered, and a receipt taken for the delivery, and triple letter postage charged.

The principles suggested for regulating the inland postage apply with equal force to the foreign, except that the service is much more expensive, and would require an increased rate. Uniformity in the rate is not less important in the one than in the other. The number and different amount of rates now charged by law are very inconvenient to the public, as well as to the officers in the discharge of their duties. Forty cents are now charged to or from California and Oregon; thirty cents to or from Panama; twenty-four cents to Europe; twenty cents to Chagres; twelve and a half cents to Havana; six cents when delivered at the ports of landing; two cents in addition to the regular postage, when taken in the mails; one cent to the postmaster when sent out of the country. It is believed that one uniform rate of fifteen cents might be advantageously adopted for the foreign postage, and made applicable to our Territories on the Pacific, and produce more revenue than the charges now made.

In addition, the Post Office Department, under the direction of the President, should have power to raise or lower these rates of postage, whenever it becomes necessary, on account of the competition from other countries, and to impose restrictions upon the vessels of any foreign nation. When such powers are given to the post offices in other countries, such restrictions may be imposed, when Congress is not in session, as may deprive the vessels of the United States of any participation in carrying letters. This was done by an order from the Lords of the Treasury, in Great Britain, on the 9th of June, 1847, preceding the arrival of the Washington at Southampton, and which had the effect to deprive that vessel of any reasonable share of the business between this country and England or France. That order remained in force more than a year, against all our remonstrances, before a law could be passed to meet the emergency.

If the proposed reductions are to be made, and the Department required to sustain itself, it is indispensable that the franking privilege should be abolished. It is now greater and more exclusively used than at any former period; and as the privilege is enlarged, the abuses under it increase. The immense mass of free matter sent through the mails necessarily requires a higher and more expensive grade of service, to enable the contractors to transport it. It is not unusual for coach service to be demanded, on routes yielding comparatively nothing, for the transportation of public documents and other free matter. Over one route, a double daily line of four-horse post coaches has become indispensable. Some estimate may be formed of the additional expense of transportation from the fact reported from the city post office, that in seven days, from the 6th until the 12th day of August last, inclusive, 450 bags of free matter, weighing 35,550 pounds, averaging daily 5,078 pounds, passed through his office. Upon inquiry, it appears that between the 1st of December and the 1st of October last, there was sent from the two Houses of Congress, through the mails, about five millions of copies of speeches and other matter weighing under two ounces, and about one hundred and seventy-seven thousand public documents, besides the letters written by the members of the House of Representatives; and there remained to be forwarded more than one-half of the public documents ordered to be printed at the last session. Such a mass of matter thrown upon the mails must necessarily add to the cost of transportation, retard the progress of the mails, and produce a great proportion of the failures that are made on the unimproved routes in the newer sections of the country. But this is not all; the Department is compelled to pay the postmasters, whose compensation does not exceed two thousand dollars per annum, two cents for the delivery of each free letter or document. A large proportion of the documents and papers thus sent free are, it is believed, seldom read, and if read, but of little public interest, and worse than useless; inasmuch as the exercise of the privilege, to the extent now practised, tends to prevent, if it does not materially interfere with, the circulation of the village newspapers in their respective localities. This subject has been so forcibly presented to the House, in the report of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, at the last session, and several other reports previous to that time, that it is not deemed necessary to enlarge upon it at this time.

Whether the suggestions for the modifications of the act of 1845 be adopted or not, all matter sent in the mails should be pre-paid. This might indemnify the Department for the great loss sustained for the transmission of letters not taken from the offices. Near two millions of dead letters are annually returned to the Department, upon which it not only loses the postage, but pays two cents each for advertising; and this is in addition to the expense incurred in opening and returning those of value to the writers, and destroying those of no value. Newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and essays of various kinds, probably not less in number than the dead letters, are sent to the offices, and never called for, or, if called for, refused, and remain as dead matter in them. From a careful examination, it has been ascertained that 52,000 annually are received and remain as dead matter in the office at New York; at Boston and Baltimore, about 10,000 annually; and at Philadelphia, about 2,600.

If each office averaged but one daily, (a low estimate,) the whole number in a year would be 6,898,035, which, at the rate of one cent, would be $68,980. If pre-payment be not required, then dead letters, papers, and pamphlets, should be returned to the writers or publishers, and the payment of double postage, as well as the cost of advertising, be required of them. But little inconvenience would be felt by the public, since the adoption of adhesive stamps as the evidence of pre-payment of letters. Their use would soon become general, if authority was given to sell them at a slight per cent. discount at the Department, so as to make it an object to stationers and other traders to keep them on hand for the accommodation of the public.

The pre-payment of official communications from the Executive branch of the Government is now made by a specific appropriation annually. Similar provision might be made by the Legislative branch, or a specific sum allowed each member, to cover official communications to and from them.

The pre-payment of mailable matter, at the proposed low rates, would not, it is believed, materially diminish the number of letters sent in the mails, and, in connection with the general use of the adhesive stamps, will simplify the transaction of business in the offices, the settlement of their accounts, and concentrate the funds of the Department at the centre of business in the different sections of the Union, where the money is needed, and in a great degree avoid the hazards incident to the collection and transmission of funds to the places where they can be made available.

Other suggestions, for the improvement of the act of 1845, have been made in my former reports, which I deem it unnecessary to repeat.

It may not be inappropriate to remark, that those connected with administrative duties of this Department could not but have observed that there has been, for some years past, a strong feeling pervading the country, that the system had been conducted by an organized corps, extending throughout the Union, into every neighborhood, under the control of politicians at the seat of Government, wielded with the view of promoting party purposes and party organization, rather than the business and social interests it was created to advance; that the offices were bestowed as the reward of partisan services, rather than from the merit and qualification of those selected; and that each Presidential contest is to produce a new distribution of the offices, and hence embittered political contests are excited in almost every neighborhood, demoralizing in their tendencies, and injuriously affecting the purity of elections.

Whilst such apprehensions are entertained by a respectable portion of the community, a want of confidence in the honesty and correctness of the officers, however pure and upright in their conduct, soon shows itself, seriously injuring the business of the offices, and bringing discredit on the system itself. The post office system was designed for business purposes, for the cultivation of the social and friendly feelings among the citizens of the different sections of the Union, and should be in no wise connected with the party politics of the day. This will give that degree of confidence in its agents necessary to render it the most useful to the people. There does not seem any reason why this business and social agent of the people should be more connected with them than the officers of the courts of justice, or the accounting officers of the Government. If it were believed that the latter officers performed the duties assigned them with a view to the advancement of party purposes, public opinion would soon correct the evil. If the Post Office were alike exempt from political influence and party contests, public confidence would be maintained, and the best interests of the system promoted.

It may be well worthy of consideration, if these objects would not be advanced, should the Postmaster General be nominated by the President to the Senate for a specific term of years, be separated from the Cabinet, and only removable by impeachment; and the appointment of the principal subordinate officers, for a like term of years be given to him, and to provide that no removal should be made except for good and sufficient cause, to be reported to each session of the Senate.

CAVE JOHNSON,
Postmaster General.

THE RETURNS OF THE ELECTION.

Full tables of the returns of the late election in some of the States may be found on our fourth page. We shall publish the rest as fast as we can find room for them. Meantime, we give the footings up of several not yet recorded in our paper.

KENTUCKY.

Clay	61,260	Crittenden	66,466
Polk	51,988	Powell	58,045
Clay's majority	9,272	Crittenden's maj	8,421

Taylor	67,141
Cass	49,720
Taylor's majority	17,421
Whig increase from 1844	5,881
Whig increase since August	675
Democratic loss from 1844	2,268
Democratic loss since August	8,325

What became of the 8,325 Democrats who voted for Powell in August last? They did not like a Northern man with Southern principles and staid at home. What do their Northern allies think of this?

VIRGINIA.

All but two counties heard from officially. The Richmond Enquirer says the majority for Cass is 1,462. Polk's majority was 5,893. Democratic loss in Virginia, 4,431. This is the way the pillar of Democracy sustains a Northern Democratic candidate.

MISSISSIPPI.

The official table foots up—

Cass	26,398	Polk	25,126
Taylor	25,579	Clay	19,206
Cass's majority	819	Polk's majority	5,920
Reduction of Democratic majority			5,101

The Democrats of Mississippi were as little pleased as the rest of their slaveholding brethren with a non-slaveholding candidate.

LOUISIANA.

Taylor	18,273	Polk	13,782
Cass	15,380	Clay	13,083
Taylor's majority	2,893	Polk's majority	699

The Democrats of Louisiana maintained their integrity so long as they could vote for a slaveholder; but when it came to supporting a non-slaveholding candidate, enough bolted to give the State to the Whig slaveholder.

INDIANA.

Cass	74,745	Cass's majority over Taylor	4,838
Taylor	69,907		
Van Buren	8,100	Absolute majority over Cass	3,262

MICHIGAN.

Taylor	23,940	Clay	24,337
Cass	30,687	Polk	27,759
Van Buren	10,389	Birney	3,632

Cass's majority over Taylor	6,747
Polk's majority over Clay	3,422
Taylor and Van Buren over Cass	3,642

FLORIDA—OCTOBER ELECTION.

	Brown.	Bailey.	Cabell.	Duval.
West Florida	1,321	910	1,356	896
Middle Florida	1,549	1,311	1,621	1,331
East Florida	1,134	1,2?2	1,178	1,205
South Florida	141	217	227	373
Total	4,145	3,646	4,382	3,805

Cabell's majority, 577; Brown's majority, 499; total Congressional vote in 1846 5,877; in 1848, 8,187; increase, 2,310.

Gerrit Smith's vote for President, in New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, and Ohio, is 3,791.

Massachusetts.—The complete returns from the fifth Congressional district give Allen, Free Soil, 6,604; Hudson, Whig, 4,308; Davis, Democrat, 3,087.

Missouri.—Returns for all but eight counties give Cass 6,437 majority.—*Cincinnati Intelligencer.*

Illinois.—Official returns from 93 counties give the following result: Cass, 51,784; Taylor, 48,130; Van Buren, 15,524; Cass over Taylor, 3,550. The seven counties to be heard from officially are reported to have given Taylor 793 majority, leaving Cass's majority in the State 2,949.

Wisconsin.—The Legislature of Wisconsin is said to stand as follows.

	Whigs.	Cass men.	Free-Soilers.	Cass maj.
Senate	4	14	3	5
House	16	33	15	4
Joint ballot	20	47	18	9

Wisconsin.—The following are the official returns for the first Congressional district:

	Finch, W.	Durkee, F. S.	Lynde, D.
Milwaukee	1,195	559	2,155
Waukesha	777	945	1,083
Walworth	795	1,478	616
Racine	854	2,056	582
Total	3,621	5,038	4,436

Charles Durkee over Lynde, 602; over Finch, 1,417.

Mr. Palfrey.—The friends of Free Soil everywhere will rejoice to find that this faithful friend of Freedom has a plurality of the votes in the fourth district. This is indeed a gratifying result. The plurality must be made a majority on the next trial.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 14, 1848.

OUR NEW VOLUME—IMPORTANT ARRANGEMENTS.

We are drawing to the close of the second volume of the *Era*. Circulars have been sent to all our subscribers; we are thankful for the attention they have received; we hope they will continue to be responded to. Special circulars have been addressed to some of our friends who have constituted themselves voluntary agents for the paper.

Last week we commenced, this week we finish, the business of sending bills. Look carefully in your papers, and you will see the precious mementoes. We are anxious to have all our subscribers renew before the times of their subscriptions expire, so that they may be put to no inconvenience by the stoppage of their papers, and that we may know how large an edition to issue of our third volume. It will pain us to part company with any of them, so agreeable has been the association to both sides—we hope.

What principles and measures we intend to support in our third volume, they have already learned by our Prospectus: what are our arrangements for the Literary, Miscellaneous, and Home Reading, of that volume, we shall now explain.

The Anti-Slavery Movement and Politics generally will absorb to a great extent our attention.

Our friend and associate, Mr. Whittier, will aid us in these matters, and also continue to contribute articles of a general and permanent interest.

The author of Modern Reforms in Great Britain, after having closed his present series, will take up new and interesting topics in serial order.

A citizen of Ohio, familiar with the history and resources of the Great West, and a distinguished representative of its Literature, has promised us a series of "Letters, Historical, Statistic, Literary, and Social, from the West."

The lively, pungent, various John Smith the Younger will not be wanting, with his vivid portraiture and amusing satire.

The reader will be pleased to learn, as we are to announce, that the Misses Carey, A. Duganne, and others, with whom they are familiar, will continue their poetic contributions.

What more shall we say? To secure the *Era* warmer welcome in the literary as well as family circle, we have made arrangements for contributions from Mrs. Southworth, whose sketch of a wife's trials and triumphs, published in the *Era* a year ago, went the rounds of the American Press; from Grace Greenwood, many of whose best friends have been long anxious to see her fine talents engaged by the Anti-Slavery press; and from a gentleman who, in the simplicity, purity, and genial humor of his delightful fiction, reminds us more than any American writer of the productions of Zschokke.

It is a difficult task, in a weekly Anti-Slavery newspaper, to mingle literature with politics, so as to provide entertainment for the lovers of the former, without interfering with the thorough discussion of the latter; and to keep both subordinate to the presentation and advocacy of the Great Movement in behalf of Human Liberty, to sustain which the paper was established. But this task we shall strive to perform, hoping to succeed by means of the arrangements we have just announced.

We need hardly say that these arrangements are expensive, but we shall trust to the generous zeal of our subscribers to extend our circulation so as to secure us against loss in the outlay thus made, for the purpose of investing the Anti-Slavery Press in this Capital of the Nation with a character and an influence somewhat in keeping with the magnitude of the Cause to which it is pledged.

☞ Information about Oregon is desired by one of our correspondents. We shall try soon to furnish all the necessary information concerning the route for emigrants, &c.

THE DANGER.

It is supposed by some that the Democratic members of Congress will be anxious to prevent any action upon the Territorial Question at the present session, for the purpose of embarrassing the next Administration, by imposing upon it the responsibility of settling the controversy. This policy has in fact been insisted on in several Democratic papers, but we doubt whether it will be adopted.

The present Administration, whatever its other vices, is not deficient in boldness. It is not apt to shrink from any responsibility; and its ambition to signalize itself by grappling with great questions, and settling them according to its own views, has again and again been exhibited. Having secured vast acquisitions of territory, and thereby provoked a serious controversy in relation to slavery, it would be proud to furnish another proof of its vigor, by a final settlement of this question. Its identification with the interests of slavery is another motive impelling it in the same direction. We have no doubt that, during the present session, it will put forth its mightiest efforts to wring some compromise from Congress of the question in controversy. The Missouri Compromise it would prefer, but Clayton's bill would do better than nothing. Every approachable member of Congress will be touched in his vulnerable point. Nor will the present Administration work unaided: certain friends of the President elect, anxious to save him from the embarrassing position in which the double-dealing policy of Northern and Southern advocates have placed him, will be found powerful auxiliaries. It would not surprise us to see a concentration of all the Southern members, without distinction of party, banded, with some misguided or bought men from the free States, in support of some kind of compromise.

How shall this peril be met and averted? Let the united press of Freedom speak out at once in a language not to be misunderstood. Let the Free Soil and Wilmot Proviso members of Congress understand each other in time; suffer no distraction to creep into their councils; and not wait to be attacked, but forestall all attempts at unprincipled compromise, by a prompt, united, bold announcement of their resolve to maintain the free institutions of our Territories. Let the people besiege their Legislatures. Those of Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Delaware, and Michigan, will meet in the beginning of January. Those of Vermont, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, will be in session the present month. Let them reiterate their protests against the extension of slavery, instruct their Senators, and request their Representatives, to sustain the Jeffersonian Ordinance of 1787. No time should be lost. Their resolves should be laid before Congress before Executive Power has had time by its insidious arts to inveigle any member into a false position.

☞ The foregoing article was crowded out of last week's paper by the President's message. Since then, a new device to evade the Slavery question has been attempted.

Mr. Douglas, last Monday, in pursuance of previous notice, submitted the following bill for the admission of California, &c., *as a State*. It was read twice, and ordered to be printed:

A Bill for the admission of California in the Union as a State.

Be it enacted, &c., That all that portion of the territory of the United States which was acquired by the "treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement, with the Republic of Mexico, concluded February 2, 1848," shall be one State, and the same is hereby declared to be one of the United States of America, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever, by the name and title of the State of California: *Provided*, That Congress reserves to exercise to itself the right, at any time it may choose to exercise the same, of forming and admitting new States out of any portion of said territory which lies east of the summit of the range known as the Sierra Nevada, or California mountains: *And provided, further*, That the United States reserve unto themselves all rights of property in the public domain and other property ceded by said treaty, free from taxes and assessments of any kind by said State; and also the power of disposing of the same, including the right of adjusting all claims and titles to the same, derived from foreign Governments, in such manner as Congress shall prescribe.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable shall have the same force and effect within the said State of California as elsewhere in the United States. The said State shall be divided into two judicial districts, to be known as the Eastern and Western districts of California; and that portion thereof which lies west of the —— meridian of longitude from Washington shall constitute the Western district, and all that part of said territory east of said meridian line shall comprise the Eastern district. A district court shall be held in each of said districts, to consist of one judge in each, who shall reside therein, and be called the district judge. The said judges in their respective districts shall hold three sessions of their courts annually, to commence on the first Mondays in June, October, and February, in each year; and the said judges shall, in their respective districts, in all things, have and exercise the same jurisdiction and powers which were given by law to the judges of the Kentucky district, under an act entitled "An act to establish the judicial courts of the United States," and an act entitled "An act in addition to an act to establish the judicial courts of the United States," approved the 2d day of March, 1793, and the acts supplemental thereto. The said judges shall each appoint his own clerk, who shall receive and keep the records of the court at the place of holding the same, and shall receive for services performed by him the same fees to which the clerk of the Kentucky court is entitled for similar services.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for each of said districts, a district judge, an attorney for the United States, and a marshal. The judges shall each receive an annual salary of two thousand dollars, to commence from the date of appointment, and be paid at the Treasury of the United States. The district attorney shall, in addition to his stated fees, be paid, by the United States, two hundred dollars annually, as full compensation for extra services. The marshal shall perform the same duties, be subject to the same regulations and penalties, and be entitled to the same fees, as are provided for and prescribed to marshals in other districts, and shall, moreover, be entitled to the sum of two hundred dollars annually, as a compensation for all extra services.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That, until the next general census and apportionment, the said State shall be entitled to two Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

Want of room prevents full comment. How the people, living two thousand miles apart, are to unite in the organization of a State Government, the election of its officers, and the administration of justice, doth not appear.

Any project, however monstrous, if it can be used to serve the point of etiquette with slaveholders, will receive favor among certain Senators. It will be observed that the eastern boundary of the new State is not defined.

One object of the scheme, we perceive, is, to pave the way for the absorption of the greater portion of New Mexico by Texas, and its consequent conversion into slave soil, while at the same time a chance is given for the toleration of Slavery in California under State authority.

The friends of Free Soil will not consent to this spoliation of New Mexico, and they will forever resist the admission of one State to be hereafter formed, which shall tolerate slavery. Gentlemen, the question cannot be dodged.

For the National Era.

THE PEACE CONVENTION AT BRUSSELS.

Still in thy streets, oh Paris! doth the stain
Of blood defy the cleansing autumn rain;
Still breaks the smoke Messina's ruins through,
And Naples mourns that new Bartholomew
When squalid beggary, for a dole of bread,
At a crown'd murderer's beck of license, fed
The yawning trenches with her noble dead;
Still, doomed Vienna, through thy stately halls
The shell goes crashing and the red shot falls,
And, leagued to crush thee on thy Danube's side,
The bearded Croat and Bosniak spearman ride;
Still in that vale where Himmalaya's snow
Melts round the cornfields and the vines below,
The Sikh's hot cannon, answering ball for ball,
Flames in the breach of Moultan's shattered wall;
On Chenab's side the vulture seeks the slain,
And Sutlej paints with blood its banks again.

"What folly, then," the faithless critic cries,
With sneering lip, and wise, world-knowing eyes,
"While fort to fort and post to post repeat
The ceaseless challenge of the war-drum's beat,
And round the green earth, to the church-bell's chime,
The morning gun-fire of the camp keeps time,
To dream of peace amidst a world in arms,
Of swords to ploughshares changed by scriptural charms,
Of nations drunken with the wine of blood
Staggering to take the Pledge of Brotherhood,
Like tipplers answering Father Mathew's call;
The sullen Spaniard and the mad-cap Gaul,
The bull-dog Briton yielding but with life,
The Yankee swaggering with his Bowie knife,
The Russ from banquets with the vulture shared,
The blood still dripping from his amber beard,
Quitting their mad Berserker dance to hear
The dull, meek droning of a drab coat seer;
Leaving the sport of Presidents and Kings,
Where men for dice each titled gambler flings,
To meet alternate on the Seine and Thames,
For tea and gossip, like old country dames.
No! let the cravens plead the weakling's cant,
Let Cobden cipher, and let Vincent rant,
Let Sturge preach peace to democratic throngs,
And Burritt, stammering through his hundred tongues,
Repeat in all his ghostly lesson o'er,
Timed to the pauses of the battery's roar,
Check Ban or Kaiser with a barricade
Of 'Olive Leaves' and 'Resolutions' made,
Spike guns with pointed scripture-texts, and hope
To capsize navies with a windy trope;
Still shall the Glory and the Pomp of War
Along their train the shouting millions draw;
Still dusty Labor to the passing Brave
His cap shall doff, and Beauty's kerchief wave;
Still shall the Bard to Valor tune his song,
Still Hero-worship kneel before the Strong;
Rosy and sleek, the sable-gowned divine,
O'er his third bottle of suggestive wine,
To plum'd and sworded auditors shall prove
Their trade accordant with the Law of Love;
And Church for State, and State for Church shall fight,
And both agree, that Might alone is Right!"

Despite of sneers like these, oh, faithful few!
Who dare to hold God's word and witness true,
Whose clear eyed faith transcends our evil time,
And o'er the present wilderness of crime
See the calm Future with its robes of green,
Its fleece-flecked mountains, and soft streams between,
Still keep the path which duty bids ye tread,
Though worldly-wisdom shake its cautious head.
No truth from Heaven descends upon our sphere,
Without the greeting of the sceptic's sneer,
Denied and mocked at, till its blessings fall
Common as dew and sunshine over all.

Then o'er Earth's war field, till its strife shall cease,
Like Morven's harpers sing your song of peace;
As in old fable rang the Thracian's lyre
Midst howl of fiends and roar of penal fire,
Till the fierce din to pleasing murmurs fell,
And love subdued the maddened heart of hell.
Lend, once again, that holy song a tongue,
Which the glad angels of the Advent sung,
Their cradle-anthem for the Saviour's birth,
Glory to God, and peace unto the earth!
Through the mad Discord send that calming word
Which wind and wave on wild Gennesareth heard,
Lift in Christ's name His Cross against the Sword!
Not vain the vision which the prophets saw,
Skirting with green the fiery waste of war,
Through the hot sand-gleam looming soft and calm
On the sky's rim the fountain-shading palm.
Still lives for Earth which fiends so long have trod,
The great hope resting on the truth of God—
Evil shall cease, and Violence pass away,
And the tired world breathe free through a long Sabbath day.

J. G. W.

Mr. Borland, already elected to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Sevier, former Senator from Arkansas, has also been elected United States Senator for six years from the 4th March next.

"TAYLOR REPUBLICAN PARTY."

There are indications that the work of disorganization in the old parties, commenced during the late canvass for the Presidency, has received a new impulse from the election of General Taylor. The tone of the Democratic journals of the non-slaveholding States, from which we are presenting copious extracts, shows that the Democratic party can never be united again upon the Baltimore platform. Nothing but the incorporation of the Anti-Slavery principle in its creed can save it from utter anarchy.

On what principles, under what leadership, the old Whig party intends to rally, it is impossible to predict: indeed, where that party is, no man can tell. It was not the Whig party, we repeat; it was General Taylor who triumphed in the late election. We speak not at random. High Whig, or what was, Whig authority, sustains the assertion. So well convinced are many of the old Whig leaders of the truth of the statement, that they have announced the *project* of a new organization, to be styled "*The Taylor Republican Party.*"

The Hon. John M. Clayton was the first conspicuous advocate of Taylor, who broached this scheme. In a speech delivered at Brandywine Springs, on the 28th of October last, he thus shuffled aside the old Whig party:

"We are on the eve of a revolution in the politics of the country. A new and mighty party is rearing its gigantic form before the world. It is not merely the Whig party, nor yet the Democratic party—not the Native party nor the Foreign party—not the Free Soil party nor the Slavery party—it is the great *Taylor Republican party*, of which the distinguished characteristic is identical with that which brought the *old*, the real, the genuine, Democratic party into power in 1801. The shibboleth of that party is *the right of the majority to govern*. It is utterly opposed to kingly power under a republican name. It will tolerate no monocracy, no monarchy, no aristocracy, no toryism. No disguise, under falsely assumed names, will be permitted to gull or deceive it. *Republican* it is and will remain, and it will gather and grow as long as our Constitution and country shall endure."

The *North American*, of Philadelphia, placed this extract at the head of its columns, declaring its intention to keep it there—and it added—

"None of our political friends can read it without perceiving that it expresses the true doctrine, true for to-day and for to-morrow, in regard to the great party which now labors for the election of General Taylor to the Presidency. It is the great Republican party, whose cause is that of the People *versus* their would-be rulers—the cause of right constitutional government and true Democratic freedom—the cause of Democracy itself against veto-ocracy—the cause of Congress, the States, and twenty millions of freemen, against the tyranny of the one-man power, as claimed by the insolence of a Presidential candidate, and sustained by the servility of the band of office-holding demagogues who would make him their and the country's master. It is a party in which all true citizens who love the Republic, and hate monarchical sentiments and practices, can meet on a common basis, and fraternize in a common feeling, uniting their efforts for a common purpose—a party which is daily swelled by such accessions, and deserves to receive them. In a word, "the great Taylor Republican party," which Mr. Clayton shows to be identical in principle with "the *old* Democratic party" of 1801, and destined, like it, to be a mighty, a victorious, a permanent one."

We dismissed all this from our thoughts at first, as innocent clap-trap—a rhetorical patriotism always in vogue during an electioneering canvass, and designed to inveigle the simple. But we were mistaken. The supposed sham turns out to be a reality. The work of organizing a new party has been seriously commenced at Whig headquarters in Philadelphia. The men, the plan, the principles and purposes of this new party will be understood by the following editorial in the *North American* of the 29th ult.:

TAYLOR REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION.

In our columns of this morning we publish a call, numerously signed, for a meeting, to be held at the Chinese Museum, this evening, to organize a *Taylor Republican Association*. The object of this movement, as we understand it, is to enable the voters of the city and county of Philadelphia, who aided in the election of General Taylor, and who desire to give to his Administration an energetic and united support, to meet together on a common platform on terms of perfect equality, and in a spirit of fraternal concord.

It is a fact, which no sensible man desires to conceal, and no truthful man will venture to deny, that the victory in this State—and especially in the county of Philadelphia—was achieved, not by Whigs alone, but by a union of the entire Whig party with thousands of conscientious men who had previously been connected with other and different party organizations. This union resulted from no political management or intrigue, from no arrangement of leaders with leaders for the mere distribution of spoils; but it resulted from the deep-seated conviction of the people themselves, that their interests had been sacrificed, and their dearest rights disregarded, by the existing dynasties, and from an equally deep-seated determination to overthrow those dynasties. Into this union, under the pressure of the public necessities, men of all party denominations entered; and, first at the Governor's election, and subsequently at the Presidential election, concentrated their efforts to achieve the great triumphs which those elections secured. And it is with a view of perpetuating those triumphs—of permanently establishing the principles that the people, through their chosen representatives, should govern, unrestrained by the will of one man—that the industry of the country shall be protected against ruinous foreign competition—that the Government shall not be permitted to dissociate its own interests from the interests of the citizens at large—it is for the purpose of securing, in this section at least, the predominance of those principles, that this meeting has been called; and the Association it intends to form has been proposed.

The basis of the Taylor Republican Association will be the creed proclaimed by General Taylor himself in his letter to Captain Allison. That creed is so familiar to all, that it need not be repeated here. It recognises the popular sovereignty in its broadest and amplest sense. It disavows the dangerous and despotic practice of undue Executive authority. It regards public place and power not as mere vehicles of personal or partisan aggrandizement, but as great trusts to be administered for the general welfare.

Upon this simple but comprehensive platform, Whigs and Democrats, Natives and naturalized citizens, can all gather together, and join their labors in maintaining and defending those rights which corrupt rulers have assailed, and protecting those interests which the same class of rulers have endangered.

We have no doubt the meeting to-night will be large and harmonious; and we trust and believe that its action will be such as to promote, in the wisest and best way, the great object for which it is to be convened.

If this example be generally followed, the Whig party will cease to be; but it is certainly part of a general scheme of policy concocted by the leading friends of General Taylor. The plain object is, to substitute a new party for the Whig party, with a new basis and a new title—the basis, the Allison Letter, the title, the Taylor Republican party.

It is certainly a novel spectacle, that an old, respectable party, embracing, from time to time, nearly one-half the American People, illustrated during its career by numerous statesmen of distinguished talents, should be unceremoniously pushed aside by its recognised leaders, to make way for a new party, which has received its life, its creed, its title, from a mere soldier, who has never held civil office, who has passed forty years of his life in the camp, and who has never paid any attention to the political questions that have agitated the country! How many of the Whig People will be found consenting to the new arrangement, we know not. Names, with some men, stand for principles; and when the name of John M. Clayton is recognised as chief architect of the new party, multitudes of confiding Whigs will inquire no further.

But the platform of the Taylor Republican party is a rare one. It is simply the Allison Letter of General Taylor; which, as our readers recollect, enumerated no principles, avowed preference for no measures of public policy. It was merely a definition of the rule which in General Taylor's judgment, ought to govern the exercise of the Veto power by the President—not an expression of opinion concerning a single question in which the American People are interested. And this definition of the Veto power of the President, is to constitute the basis, the entire platform of a party, which, while it can have nothing to do with a Presidential election for four years to come, will be bound to engage in numerous elections for members of the State Legislatures and for Congress, that must decide on the very questions concerning which the Allison Letter is silent!

It would rather puzzle one of these Taylor Republicans to tell what great things his party is to accomplish. "We go *for the right of the majority to govern!*" he exclaims—"that is our principle." Who denies it? Are bills passed in Congress by a *minority*? Does anybody propose that the majority shall be governed by the minority? Is it the intention of the Taylor Republican members of Congress to pass a law that the majority shall govern?

"You don't take the idea," he persists. I mean that we go against the exercise of the Veto power, except in cases of a clear violation of the Constitution, or manifestly hasty legislation." Well, the President-elect is with you. What do you want more? Is the Taylor Republican party in Congress about to propose that the Constitution be so amended as to prohibit the exercise of the Veto power, except as before excepted? Do you intend to make that, the great question of the next Administration?

"Oh, but we are utterly opposed to monocracy, monarchy, aristocracy, and toryism." Ah! this, then, is your platform. You intend to pass a bill in the next Congress, against the toleration of "monocracy, monarchy, aristocracy, and toryism!"

The theory of the oriental philosopher, according to which the world rested on the back of a tortoise, has found its rival in this new project, which proposes to build an immense party on the basis of the Allison Letter.

Since writing the foregoing, a large meeting, called by some thousands of the citizens of Philadelphia, has been held in that place, the report of the proceedings of which is published at length in the *North American*. The meeting organized by the election of a President, and almost innumerable Vice Presidents and Secretaries. The following address and resolutions were submitted by Judge Coxe, and adopted:

ADDRESS.

The military career of General Taylor has closed, and the hero of many a hard-fought field, who never lost a battle, reposes on his laurels. His first campaign as a statesman has commenced with the battle of the ballot-boxes; and we, who have rallied under his victorious banner, have assembled, not merely to rejoice in our civil victory and moral revolution, but to endeavor to secure to our country all the blessings expected to result from them by the elevation of our Chief to the Chair of Washington, by sustaining his Administration in carrying out the wholesome principles which were involved in the contest, and for whose violation the present Federal Administration has been rebuked and repudiated by the People.

We have thought it expedient, for this purpose, to establish an Association of the friends of General Taylor, under the name of *the Taylor Republican Association.*

Without intending at this time to dilate upon the principles and policy of the Taylor Republican party, it may be proper to state that our Association is based upon the great principles of popular sovereignty, as proclaimed by General Taylor in his celebrated Allison Letters, prior to his election, and now fully ratified by his countrymen.

These principles of popular rights and public interest will afford useful and intellectual occupation to the Society, while its exertions in the support of President Taylor and his Administration, in future local and general operations, are too obvious to require us to dwell on them in detail.

The Association will also present to all the friends of General Taylor a point of union which has not heretofore existed, and which is generally desired by them, and required by the interests of the country.

Resolved, That this meeting do now resolve itself into a Society, to be called *The Taylor Republican Association.*

Resolved, That a Committee of —— be appointed to prepare and report a constitution for the Association.

Resolved, That we congratulate all the People upon their triumph in the election of their candidate, General Zachary Taylor, to the Presidential chair, thereby sustaining their honor, their rights, their interests, and the Constitution of our country; and that we pledge ourselves to sustain the Taylor cause with industry and zeal, to the best of our ability, in the Association we have instituted.

The Allison Letter, it seems, is to be the storehouse of wisdom for the new party. Its principles will afford "a useful and intellectual occupation" to its members. Night after night the old politicians, who have become as little children, and the young ones, who have no need to become such, will assemble with devout eagerness to improve their intellects by a profound study of——the mystical doctrine of the Veto Power, as propounded in the Allison Letter. The newly discovered and sublime truth that the "majority ought to govern" always, except when the President thinks their government unconstitutional, and that other original Taylor Republican doctrine, as expounded by the Hon. John M. Clayton, that no toleration ought to be given to "mo-nocracy, mo-narchy, aris-tocracy, and toryism," will strengthen and expand their intellectual organization till it almost rival that which gave those principles birth.

But passing by the *intellectual* part of this entertainment, let us look at the political bearings of the project.

After the Address and Resolutions, the rhetoric followed. Mr. Meredith stated that he was present, because he was a *Republican*. Dr. Mitchell said "there was a time when he (General Taylor) stood before the People only as a great and glorious military hero; but the progress of time revealed new traits in the old chief, and gave to his character the glory of a second Washington!" Mr. McMichael, one of the proprietors and editors of the North American, said:

"That he did not wonder that men who had hitherto belonged to various parties should display a little hesitation in coming forward to unite thus in a new organization. But it must come to this in the end. The election of General Taylor was not a party but a national triumph, and he will be the President not of a party, but the whole People. As such an Executive, he will not be influenced by cliques, factions, or cabals. He said he knew that there were those who thought the movement premature. To such he would say, that this is but the germ of a movement which must eventually spread all over the country.

"Mr. McM. said, that in all his speeches in the late canvass he had asked for the election of Gen. Taylor, not as the candidate of a party, but of the whole independent People. The canvass was attended with success; and he was free to say, that had not the People of Pennsylvania, without distinction of party, rallied around the old chief, he could not have been elected. And now that success had been attained, this movement endeavored to effect an organization which should give permanency to our triumph."

Charles B. Penrose said:

"That the Taylor party of Pennsylvania, at the late election, was composed of 185,000 voters, men of all parties. Unless some such movement as this is made, how can that vast body be kept together by common principles and common feelings? . . . It may be objected that now, immediately after the battle has been fought and won, is not the moment for such a formation. In his opinion, this was just the time. The parts which cohered to form the Taylor party needed such an organization to keep them together. Are there not other elections coming, and shall this great patriotic army be dissolved? He had heard, with surprise, that there was some opposition to this movement. He could tell such opponents that, however it might be here, throughout the country there would be a general approval of it. The People would rally to its support, and it would spread everywhere throughout the length and breadth of the land, embracing every true patriot who had disinterestedly united in the support of General Taylor. (Tremendous cheering.)"

J. W. Ashmead followed, and in reply to a question by J. M. Kennedy, "as to whether this was intended to be a city, state, or national movement, the speaker replied that this was the germ of a movement which would spread all over the country. It would be responded to promptly from all quarters."

"W. S. Price, Esq., from the Committee to draft a Constitution, then read the one which they had agreed upon. It was unanimously adopted. In relation to the purposes of the movement and its nationality, Mr. P. stated that the bare announcement had brought a committee from Trenton, N. J., to learn its plan and to follow in its wake. This announcement was received with great applause.

"George Lippard, Esq., then addressed the meeting. He said that he united in the movement,

not as a Native, not as a Whig, not as a Democrat, but as an Independent man. The People would rally to its support."

Enough. The Whig party *adopted* an *independent* candidate, who professed no opinions respecting any political question; and, to harmonize its position with his, the Philadelphia Convention refrained from the utterance of any opinions. General Taylor was elected *by the People*, by men of all organizations, say these leading Whigs of Philadelphia. "What, then, shall we do? We must follow the example set by the Philadelphia Convention, and make the position of General Taylor our position. Where he goes, we will go; what he believes, we will believe; his people shall be our people, his will, our will. We are no longer Whigs, or Natives, or Democrats—we are simply the *People*, or, to be more definite, *Taylor Republicans*—his name, our name; his creed on the veto power, our sole platform! The Whig party *was*—it performed its mission—it *is not*. Peace to its ashes, whence has arisen a Party, still better adapted to the crisis."

As this disorganization of the Whig Party has already been consummated at Philadelphia, and a similar work is to be carried on throughout the country, the question which every man, hitherto a Whig, has to decide, is, "where shall I go?"

To help to a right decision, we will would refer him to the resolutions agreed upon by the Buffalo Convention, in support of which, at the late election, three hundred thousand voters cast their votes. The badge of these men is, *not devotion to a man*, but a series of well-defined, all-important principles. There is something in the title, "Free Democracy," more compatible with the intelligence and self-respect of a free People, than in that of "Taylor Republicans."

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW. No. V. December, 1848. Boston: Coolidge & Wiley.

This has been pronounced by several journals the best number of the Massachusetts Quarterly yet issued; and we concur in the opinion. The subjects are well chosen, and treated generally in a masterly style. It opens with a characteristic article, from the pen of Theodore Parker, we should judge, on the Political Destination of America. There is little formal logic, but a great deal of genius about it; and where the writer does not permit his intensity of thought to urge him into extravagance, he is witty, profound, and eloquent by turns. The important subjects of Postal Reform and the Free Soil movement, occupy a large space in this number.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW. October, 1848. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by W. Adam, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

The London Quarterly is largely literary. The affairs of the Germanic States, France, Italy, and Ireland, are discussed somewhat briefly, while literary reviews occupy a large proportion of its pages.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW. October, 1848. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale as above.

The opening article on Mills's Political Economy presents a view of the remedies of social evils, different from that embraced in the radical comments of the Westminster on the same work. A long article on Revolution and Reform undertakes to harmonize conservatism and progress. A learned dissertation follows on Ethnology or the science of races. Some literary reviews are given, and the number closes with an article on the state of Europe, the only one on foreign affairs.

THE DAGUERREOTYPE AND FOREIGN MISCELLANY. Boston: Crosby & Nichols.

A compilation, in part, from the periodical publications of England, France, and Germany. It is handsomely got up, appearing in successive numbers on the second and fourth Saturdays of every month, so that they form two volumes a year, each of 500 pages. The terms are $3 per annum, always in advance.

It has reached its third volume, of which we have received four numbers. It seems to us that the selections are made with good taste, and so as to provide a delightful entertainment for readers. The design of the work is furnish the American public "with a faithful view of all the noblest efforts made in the great world of European literature."

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE. December 16, 1848. Boston: E. Littell & Co.

Our readers have doubtless noticed from time to time the advertisement in our columns of this mirror of foreign literature. It is an admirably conducted publication, and has lately enhanced its value by securing the correspondence of Mr. Walsh, so long the Paris correspondent of the National Intelligencer.

Although we do not always sympathize with his spirit, or approve his principles, we like to read his letters, for the facts they contain, and the excellent digest they present of the course of events and the opinions of the press abroad.

THE THEOLOGICAL LECTURES OF THE LATE REV. DAVID BOGUE, D. D. Edited by the Rev. J. S. C. F. Frey. New York: Lewis Colby.

Towards the close of the last century, the Missionary Seminary at Gosport, England, was established, and Dr. Bogue was appointed sole instructor. For the use of the students he composed this Course of Lectures on Theology, Divine Revelation, Biblical Criticism, Dispensations of Religion, Church History, Jewish Antiquities, Sacred Geography, Composition of Sermons, and the Pastoral Office; and by their aid, it is stated, he educated, without any assistant teacher, four hundred ministers, many of them highly distinguished, some of whom are still living. For the first time, they have lately been given to the world by Mr. Frey, who was one of the Doctor's students for four years. The American edition is published in two neat volumes. If we were about to become a theological student, we would ask no better method of study than that so clearly and beautifully pursued in these lectures. Every part of it is suggestive of thought, and must lead to definite, fruitful, satisfactory research.

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS. By Edwin P. Whipple. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Booksellers, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

These essays and reviews will amply repay a reading. Some of them deserve to be studied. With three or four exceptions, they have appeared at different times in the North American and the American Review; but their merit entitles them to a place by themselves. The work is published in two handsome volumes, the articles in the first bearing the titles—Macaulay, Poets and Poetry of America, Talfourd, Woods, James's Novels, Sydney Smith, Daniel Webster, Neal's History of the Puritans, Wordsworth, English Poets of the Nineteenth Century, Vagaries of Volition. The second presents an equal variety of interesting topics. We have not time or room to notice this production according to its deserving, but can only say that it contains much discriminating and profound criticism, embodied in a style of commanding strength.

MY MOTHER. By Rev. Albert Bushnell, Missionary to Africa. Oberlin, Ohio. J. M. Fitch.

A very pleasing record by an estimable son, of the piety of an excellent mother, designed chiefly, we presume, to provoke mothers to good works, and quicken their interest in the cause of missions. It is a neat little volume, very prettily bound, with a preface and a poem, by Mrs. Sigourney.

"THE GREAT ISSUE."

This is the title of the ablest pamphlet which has been called forth by the Free Soil Question. It is from the pen of O. C. Gardiner, Associate Editor of the Democratic Review, before that once popular and liberal journal fell into the hands of Hunkers in politics and smatterers in literature. In a clear, vigorous style, occasionally rising into eloquence, it gives a brief and condensed historical sketch of the Free Soil Question in the United States, from the Congresses of 1774 and 1787 to the present time. Although intended to bear upon the late Presidential contest, neither its topic, nor the manner of treating it, has a local or temporary character, being nothing less than a history of the progress of the great leading idea of the Declaration of Independence. It is a work which is far better adapted to the present calm than to the hurry and turmoil which preceded the election; and we know of no better service which our Free Soil Associations could offer to the cause of Freedom, than the wide circulation of it among the honest and well-disposed but mistaken masses who voted for Cass and Taylor.

W. C. Bryant & Co., of New York, and B. B. Mussey & Co., of Boston, are publishers; 176 pages, at 25 cents. J. G. W.

For the National Era.

STRENGTH OF SIN.

BY MISS PHŒBE CAREY.

How lately and this beautiful earth
Was shut by darkness from my sight,
And all the mighty arch of blue
Was sparkling with its worlds of light.

Waning and waning, one by one
They vanished as the day-star rose,
Till, lo! along the distant hills
The fire of sunrise burns and glows.

And turning from the hosts of heaven
To the calm beauty of the earth
I feel what goodness must be His,
Who spoke its glories into birth.

More than our hearts can comprehend,
Or our weak, blinded eyes can see,
The wisdom and the love of God,
How mighty and how vast they be!

Too fair for us to hate or leave
This world His hand has placed us in,
But for the presence and the power
Of that most fiery serpent, sin—

That first in Eden's peaceful shade
Uncoiled its bright and deadly folds,
And living still, and unsubdued,
Sends its dark poison through our souls.

But from his creatures, blind and lost,
God never wholly turned aside,
As power to save us from the curse
Was sent us when the Saviour died.

All that is left us under heaven,
Hope of the lost and sin enslaved,
The only name on earth that's given,
Whereby the souls of men are saved.

Thanks unto God, that He was sent,
A sacred warfare to begin,
That in the end shall surely crush
And bind the infernal strength of sin!

That by Him it shall be at last
Out from this fair creation hurled,
Who gave its death-blow when the cross
Was darkly planted in the world.

And thanks to Him, that when the soul
In agony for mercy calls,
Right in the shadow of that cross
The sunlight of His pardon falls.

THE REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

We commend this interesting report to the attention of our readers. For the sake of making room, we omit a few brief passages of no general interest.

It is a document full of encouragement to the friends of low postage. For eight years preceding the act of 1845, reducing the rates of postage, there was an annual average deficiency in the revenues of the Department of about $125,000. During the same period, the total amount of transportation was diminished 12,000 miles; "so that if the high rates of postage had been continued, the service must have been greatly reduced, or large sums of money been annually drawn from the Treasury for its use." This is one fact.

The act of 1845 reduced the rates more than one-half. At the close of the first year, under the reduced rates, the deficit was less than had been apprehended, being only $597,098; at the close of the second, it was but $25,417; while at the end of the third year, June 30th, 1848, there was a surplus of $172,232 beyond the proper expenses of the year. This is another fact.

Then consider the following table:

Last year of High Postage.	
Revenue - - - -	$4,289,841.80
Expenditure - - - -	4,320,731.99
Excess of expenditure -	30,890.19
First year of Reduced Postage.	
Revenue - - - -	$3,487.199
Expenditure - - - -	4,084,296
Excess of expenditure -	597,097
Third year of Reduced Postage.	
Revenue - - - -	$4,374,077
Expenditure - - - -	4,198,845
Excess of revenue - -	175,232

While the expenditure has been diminished, and the revenue augmented under the reduced rates, the number of post offices has been multiplied, and the amount of service greatly increased.

Number of post offices in 1845 -	14,103
Number of post offices in 1848 -	16,159
Increase in three years - -	2,050
Annual transportation, July 1st, 1845	35,634,269
Annual transportation, July 1st, 1848	41,012,579
Increase in three years - -	5,378,310

These are some of the prominent facts disclosed in the report. They show that, although the Postmaster General was opposed in the first instance to an immediate reduction of the rates of postage, he has accomplished much in carrying the new system into successful operation. He has conducted his Department with energy, economy, and vigilance, and deserves high commendation for the fidelity he has manifested to the interests of the public in his dealings with contractors and railroad and steamboat corporations. The country is certainly not indebted to him for the new system of postage, but it is indebted to him largely for the economical arrangements that have promoted its success.

We wish we could express as unqualified approbation of the views of the Postmaster General in relation to a further reduction of postage as we have, of his mode of management under the present rates. But there are points in the report from which we are obliged to dissent. It is assumed that the Post Office Department ought to be a self-sustaining concern, and for the following reasons:

"A large number of the people have little or no connection with the mail system. To subject that class to share the burden of its support by a direct tax, or by imposts levied upon the necessaries of life, would meet, it is believed, the approbation of but few disinterested citizens."

Now, we cannot but believe that the portion of the people, having no connection with the mail system, so far from being large, is very inconsiderable.

The great majority of the free population derives direct, and the whole an indirect benefit from the mail system. How many families are without newspapers, received through the mail, or without distant friends or relations from whom they occasionally expect letters by mail? And we have the testimony of the Postmaster General himself that every part of the Union, every person, every interest, derives advantage at least indirectly from the mail.

"The means," he remarks, "which a well-digested, cheap mail system affords, of a rapid interchange of ideas between different and distant sections of the country, and the consequent increase of knowledge; its influence upon society, but little, if any, less than that of printing; its importance to every interest, social, commercial, and political, would justify the answer, that a lower rate of postage should be adopted, if it can be done without a departure from that principle heretofore maintained in the country—that this Department should be sustained from its own resources.

"A system so intimately connected with all other interests, and the happiness and prosperity of the people—so diversified in its operations, so minute in its details—requires a careful examination of any suggestions for its improvement, and the adoption of such only as experience proves will be useful to the citizens, and render it more perfect."

What injustice there would be in appropriating, if necessary, a portion of moneys out of the Treasury to sustain a system so vital to every section and interest of our country, we cannot understand. Appropriations are made for the army, navy, Indian affairs, improvements of our coast, &c., because they are great public interests—but not one of them surpasses in importance the great interest in which are involved the social, political, and commercial intercourse of the people with each other.

But it may be said, these other interests are of such a nature that they cannot provide for themselves, while the mail system can be made self-supporting. True, and that is the real basis on which to rest the policy of making its own revenues pay its own expenses. It should be made to sustain itself, *because it can do so*, and not because it is a partial interest, and therefore has no right to claim support from the general revenue. For, let it be assumed that a system of cheap postage cannot be sustained without drafts upon the Treasury of the United States, then we hold that the drafts should be made. It would be right that the whole should pay for what benefits the whole.

The Postmaster General recommends the adoption of a uniform rate of five cents for all distances, on all letters of half an ounce and under. Less, he thinks, would not sustain the Department. It was confidently predicted by the opponents of cheap postage, that the reduction already effected would make the Department a burden on the Treasury, and even its advocates supposed that such would be the fact for many years. All are disappointed, though the principle of low postage has been only partially adopted, and, of course, not had a chance to show its full power; in the third year of its operation, the Department not only has been relieved from an annual deficit of $125,000, but shows a surplus of revenue, while the service has been extended more than five thousand miles!

We repeat, these results have been accomplished by only a partial application of the principle.

The Postmaster now proposes an extension of it, but not its full application. The uniform rate of five cents will, we doubt not, be productive of good results. Correspondence between distant points will be stimulated, and numerous letters brought into the mail, which now contribute nothing to its resources. But why stop at this partial good? The change will not meet the wants of the community—it will not counteract the great evil—we mean the carriage of letters out of the mail between points where letters now bear the rate of five cents, as they formerly only bore that of six and a quarter. The benefits of low postage will never be fully realized till these distances are brought within its operation. A single fact stated by the Postmaster General is worth more than a volume of abstract discussion on this subject. He says:

"One other consequence, expected by the friends of the act of 1845, and which was relied on as a certain means of improving their revenue, has not been realized. It was confidently believed that, by such a reduction in the rates of postage, the business of the expresses would be made unprofitable and be abandoned. This has not been the case. The business, it is believed, between the principal cities, is continued with much activity, and the revenue seriously impaired by it. In a recent number of the *Pathfinder*, published in Boston, the names of 235 cities and villages are given, which are regularly supplied by express-men with packages from that city, and most of them, doubtless, conveying letters regularly out of the mails. The penalties now imposed by law are sufficient for their suppression, if proper means were placed in the hands of the Department for their detection; but it is believed that no rate of postage which would cover the expenses of the system could be adopted sufficiently low to induce them to abandon it."

This is but one case—a mere specimen of what prevails, and will continue to increase, in all sections of our country where trade is active, population dense, towns are numerous, and the facilities of intercourse abundant. We do not believe any law can put down the evil—for the simple reason, that Public Sentiment will not sustain it. To make a law effective, the conscience and self-interest and enlightened judgment of the community must be arrayed in its support. We can see but one effectual remedy, and that is, the reduction of the postage to a uniform rate of two cents, pre-paid, on all letters of half an ounce and under. Adopt this rate, and the expresses can be broken up. Put down your postage, and the conscience of the people will go up. If they can be honest on the same terms of profit that they can be dishonest, there can be no mistake as to their choice. If the Government will take their letters for the same rates they now pay the expresses, they will show a profound respect for the law, and be willing to enforce it against those whom they now encourage to violate it. Just conceive of the millions of letters passing between Boston and the 235 villages above mentioned, and the millions more out of the mail between New York and Brooklyn, and in other sections densely peopled, and all alive with traffic! Not only would the great majority of these be brought into the mail, but the low rate of two cents for all distances would induce a correspondence of incalculable extent, now only prevented by the heavy tax to which it would be subjected.

The number of letters annually passing in the mails, for some years before the reduction of postage in 1845, ranged from twenty-five to twenty-seven millions. In 1846–'47, the second year of reduced postage, they had doubled; and in the third year, ending June 30th, 1848, they had reached, according to the estimate of the Postmaster General, 58,009,075. And this increased correspondence, recollect, must have taken place between points beyond the sections where the greatest amount of letter-writing is carried on; for these, as we have seen, have not yet been affected, except to a very inconsiderable degree, by the changes that have been made. Suppose the rate of two cents adopted—a change that would immediately tell upon them—and who doubts that the number of letters would soon be quadrupled, instead of doubled? What should hinder? The population of Great Britain able to read and write amounts to about seven millions; that of the United States, to about six millions. In 1844, these six millions sent through the mails only 27,831,036 letters—4⅔ per head; in 1848, fifty-eight millions, or 9 8-10ths per head; while the seven millions of Great Britain send through her mails 204,000,000 letters, or 28½ per head! Our population, to say the least, is as active, enterprising, intelligent, and as extensively engaged in trade and traffic: why, then, this difference? Because her letter-writing population is taxed only two cents a head, and ours five or ten cents! Now, suppose, under a uniform rate of two cents postage, pre-paid, the reading and writing population of this country over twenty should send through the mails the same number of letters per head as the same class of population does in Great Britain—by no means an unreasonable supposition. The whole number of letters would then be 171,000,000, which, at two cents, would yield $3,420,000 revenue, only $130,000 less than the revenue from letter postage in the year ending June 30th, 1848!

Intending to continue this subject, we close our remarks at present, by presenting an additional argument in favor of low postage:

"One great reason," says a writer in the Democratic Review, "that letters are more numerous in England is, that means of communication are more rapid. This is a kind of paradox; and, in fact, when the Manchester railroad was projected, it was supposed that its rapid and cheap communication would supersede letters. Experience shows the reverse; and, in 1841, *one-fourth* of the whole correspondence of the United Kingdom was carried over the Birmingham railroad. The extension of railroads in England has eminently promoted the increase of correspondence. In the United States, similar results must follow the increased facilities of intercourse, and aid the development of the resources of the Department."

Undoubtedly; but the very sections in which these facilities of intercourse are multiplying with unexampled rapidity, will not be reached by any reduction in the rates of postage short of two cents; and until that point be reached, private expresses will monopolize a large portion of their correspondence.

SETTLED AT LAST.—We learn that the difficulty between the Post Office Department and the Managers of the Railroad and Steamboat Companies, South, have been settled, and that the transportation of the mails on them will be resumed on Tuesday, the 4th.

EX-GOVERNOR FITZPATRICK, of Alabama, has been appointed a United States Senator, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Lewis.

THE OHIO LEGISLATURE.

The difficulties predicted by our correspondent two or three weeks since, in the attempt to organize the Ohio Legislature, have taken place.

After numerous ballotings, the Senate elected Mr. Randall, a Van Buren man, from the Western Reserve, Speaker.

On the 121st ballot J. R. Knapp was elected Clerk. Eighteen ballotings for Sergeant-at-Arms have been held without a choice.

As to the House, no organization has been effected. The Democratic members assembled on the first day of the session, took possession of the Hall, were sworn in by Judge Reed, and have held possession ever since, and will listen to no compromise. Some of the Free Soil men have been sworn in, so that the number now amounts to 42. The Whigs and the rest of the Free-Soilers, numbering 30, assemble from day to day, but refuse to take the oath. It requires two-thirds to organize—of course, all is yet anarchy. These two-thirds rules generally work mischief. The ultimatum of the Whigs and of eight Free-Soilers is, "that the contestors from Hamilton county be excluded until the House is organized, and their case settled, and that no business shall be done until this is effected, except the meeting of the Senate for the purpose of inaugurating the Governor."

This the Democrats reject. Great excitement prevails, but no violence has yet been attempted. Ohio, on many accounts, stands first among the Western States, and her people are distinguished for their intelligence and good sense. But if this anarchy be continued much longer, her reputation will greatly suffer.

For the National Era.

IRELAND'S RESCUE.

BY AUGUSTINE DUGANNE.

Ye who would succor Ireland—
Who would lift her drooping head—
Who would clothe her naked multitudes,
And give her paupers bread—
O, waste not words in sympathy,
Nor shed your useless tears—
But arouse her from her slavishness
Of twice two hundred years.

Give her not your pikes nor rifles—
She will drop them from her hands;
If ye send her shields and sabres,
They'll be forged to galling bands!
Give her not your golden harvests,
Though she famish as before—
If ye do, she'll kneel for ages
Like a beggar at your door!

But if ye would rescue Ireland—
Give her spades, and give her ploughs!
Let the sweat of honest labor
Gild her happy farmers' brows!
Let them drain her swamps and marshes—
Let them hurl their iron blows
On the fastnesses of fevers—
Worse than even British foes!

If ye'd raise in Ireland armies—
Make them warriors of Toil!
Let their weapons strike her meadows—
Let them cleanse her teeming soil!
Give her WORK, ye sympathizers,
And for work bestow REWARD!
Work is better far than charity,
And stronger than the sword!

O, had thus the starving *ourriers*
Of France been marshalled out,
To attack the wastes of Brittany,
The Cagot plagues to rout—
If from Gaul's unhappy capital,
Her laborers had been led,
Blood had never deluged Paris,
Nor her children lacked for bread.

If ye weep, in truth, for Ireland—
If your sympathy be pure—
Buy ye then her bogs and deserts,
And bestow them on her Poor!
Place each man upon his homestead—
Let his toil support his roof—
And the famine and the fever
From that man will keep aloof.

May the God who reigns in heaven,
Give the *freedom* which she claims!
But if ye can give her *happiness*,
She'll quarrel not with names.
Then, arise, ye friends of Ireland,
Give her sons the chance to toil—
Give them ploughs and spades for weapons,
And for battle-fields—the SOIL!

CHOLERA.

Saturday, the 2d instant, the packet ship New York arrived at quarantine, New York, twenty-two days from Havre, with 345 passengers. A week before her arrival, when off the coast of Nova Scotia, a number of cases of disease, resembling Asiatic cholera, suddenly occurred, and before her arrival seven out of the seventeen cases proved fatal. The cabin passengers were not affected. The vessel has since been lying in quarantine, and a few additional cases have occurred, some of which have resulted in death. At the latest dates, the disease was decreasing. No case had occurred in the city of New York.

The disease may have been Asiatic cholera. It is not improbable that the subjects of it were within the range of the epidemic influence before they left Europe, and received the predisposition to it, which subsequently was developed by confinement, bad air, want of cleanliness, unwholesome diet, or some other existing cause. The cases might then be termed *sporadic*, not *epidemic*. This, indeed, would seem to be verified by the non-extension of the disease, and its abatement. Had the *epidemic* influence reached our shores, no quarantine could confine it. It would spread over the country despite all obstacles.

THE GREAT WEST.

"The vote looks like a vote *against the West*." — *Ohio Statesman.*

"We endorse that with an emphasis. It is time the West set up for itself, if selfishness is the predominant and ruling idea in the East and South." — *Cincinnati Enquirer.*

"The rights and the honor of the West have not been respected by many of the States of this Union. We will soon be strong enough to command respect, as we have always merited it." — *Detroit Free Press.*

"If the West had been true to herself, she would not have had to complain of other sections of the Union. But in this contest she presented a candidate who had deliberately repudiated the principles of her freemen, and proclaimed unconstitutional the foundation of her liberties and greatness, the Ordinance of 1787. Lewis Cass was no more an impersonation of the bold and advancing spirit of the West than is the notorious Dickinson (who wished he had been born in Virginia) a representative of the Democracy of the North. Both renounced their allegiance.

"The radical Democracy of New York were not only willing, but desirous of doing justice to the West—of selecting, in this crisis, one of its sons as the candidate of Democracy and Freedom. We ourselves suggested the name of Governor Dodge before the Baltimore Convention met. We cared not for the man, we sought only one identified with the great Ordinance of Freedom, the Proviso of 1787.

"Instead of giving us a candidate fit for the support of freemen, the Baltimore Convention fraudulently imposed upon us a man who had made dishonest terms with the slavery 'diffusionists' of the South. His friends now complain that the South have betrayed him. Well, why should they not? He set the first example of betrayal.

"Let the West be true to itself—let it teach its public men to be true to its rights, and not turn from its fair fields to batten in the moors of the South, and the People of the Union will respect its greatness."—*Albany Atlas.*

An admirable rebuke. It is not the first time that the *Statesman* has been guilty of misleading its friends, and diverting their attention from the true cause of their defeat. In addition to the remarks of the Atlas, we would remind the West, that, in probably every State of that section, Gen. Cass has secured only a plurality, there being a majority of the whole number of votes against him. And will the Statesman assume that the West voted against itself? The West, like the East, has pronounced against the claims of General Cass by a majority of its voters—but General Cass and the West are not convertible terms.

RECOGNITION OF THE LIBERIAN REPUBLIC.

It seems that President Roberts failed to induce our Government to recognise the Liberian Republic. But he has been more fortunate with England and France, the Governments of which countries have promptly and cordially extended to the new Republic the courtesy of a recognition. Both Governments, too, have issued orders to the commanders of their respective squadrons on the Coast of Africa, to place a certain number of vessels, when necessary, at the disposal of President Roberts, in any efficient effort against the slave trade. Mr. Roberts is now engaged in negotiating a treaty of commerce with the British Government. A correspondent of the *Colonization Herald*, writing from London, October 26th, says:

"He showed to Mr. George Thompson and me last night the draft of the treaty, in the handwriting of Mr. Labouchere, the President of the Board of Trade. The treaty is a most liberal one, based on perfect equality and reciprocity between the two States—Great Britain and Liberia.

"Mr. Roberts thinks in a very few days more this treaty will be signed, sealed, and delivered, also, and then he will be ready to go back to Liberia, having succeeded entirely in the accomplishment of the objects which brought him to Europe."

Our Government, under the influence of the violent slaveholders, has stubbornly refused to recognise Hayti, and thus severely injured the flourishing commerce we once carried on with that Republic. Under the same influence, it seems, it refuses to recognise the Republic of Liberia.

This is really too contemptible for a Government that has any pretensions to common intelligence. It is paying rather too much to gratify the *colorphobia* of a few fanatics.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

GIBSON SQUARE, LONDON, *Nov.* 17, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: The worst fears entertained respecting Vienna have been fully realized, and the views which in a former letter I gave you respecting the subtle policy of the Emperor have been justified. "Those who take the sword shall perish by the sword;" and the Viennese, by neglecting the warning which these words convey, have destroyed themselves, and thrown back the cause of constitutional liberty, it may be, for many years to come.

The conduct of the barbarians employed by the Emperor to crush the rising liberties of his subjects—under the pretence of chastising their rebellion—was every way worthy of the cause to which it was devoted. A writer in the *Daily News* gives the best account of the barbarities which were practiced by the victorious army; and I give you an extract from his narrative, which will at least serve to show that the cause of freedom in that part of the world is opposed by the sort of men who may be regarded as its natural enemies:

"You will fancy you are reading some barbarous records of the middle ages, and yet how dull, how colorless, does this description seem to me, and how different from the stern reality! I was in town this morning for the first time, and met a person who lives in the Leopoldstadt, in the street where the Odeon once stood, and who gave us some particulars of the fire. The saloon had been turned into an hospital for the wounded, and besides, there was a number of refugees in it, about 500 altogether; dreadful to say, the building was fired by the Croats, who stood guard before the entrance to prevent escape; the screams of the women and children are said to have been heart-rending, and not one escaped. The Red Mantles are armed as follows: two daggers, two pistols, a long gun with a bayonet as sharp at the point as a needle, and a long hatchet slung at their backs. . . . . One of these horrible savages was brought before his officers, and punished *for having assassinated* 47 *persons*, in the Tabor strasse, which even they considered too much."

This writer says, Jellachich wears a superb military dress, *à la Turque*, and that his Croats had permission to pillage from morning till evening. "The poor woman at the Bathing-place has both her breasts cut out by the Croats, and they threw another poor woman into the fire."

The students, who made almost super-human efforts to avert the impending danger from their beloved city, have been rewarded by the gibbet or impressment into the army—"happiest (says the narrator) they who fell arms in hand, ignorant of what befel their dearest friends and comrades."

The greatest anxiety has been felt here, for several days past, as to the issue of events at Berlin. The King, by the appointment of Brandenburg as his Prime Minister, has opposed the wishes of his people, and excited their very natural fears that their acquired liberties will be filched from them. Remonstrances have been made in vain. Under the advice of this obnoxious mentor, the National Assembly has been prohibited from meeting in Berlin.

The assembly has advised nothing more than passive resistance to the measures of the King and his Ministry, and the Burgher Guard standing by the Assembly have been ordered to disarm. The people, who seem to be but too ready for resorting to arms, it is yet hoped will be kept quiet, through the influence of the Assembly. Prevented meeting at the Sing Academy, they have assembled in the Hall of the Schutzen-gild, from which they have been expelled, and the manner of their expulsion is given in the following passage, by a correspondent to the *Chronicle* this morning:

"The Commissary of Police entered the hall of meeting, and summoned the Vice President and members to quit the premises. To this the whole house resolutely replied, "Never, until forced by arms." Upon this, two or three officers, with a party of soldiers, entered, and, repeating the summons, received the same answer. Thereupon the officers exclaimed, 'We will not use bayonets, but other means;' and the soldiers advanced, seized the chair upon which M. Plönies was seated, and carried him as gently as possible into the street, where they deposited him safely. The remaining members, upon this, arose, and the Vice President, having declared that the dignity of the Chamber could not permit of their remaining to be exposed to further violence, proposed adjourning, after protesting against this act of violence."

"Undaunted by this interposition, the President summoned the Deputies to meet the next day, (the 14th.) The Deputies on leaving the place of meeting were literally carried upon the arms of the people, who stood outside, laughing at or greeting the military with ironical shouts of applause."

Meanwhile, the city of Berlin is filled with soldiers, and in the neighborhood there are forces enough to kill all the inhabitants, for whom the King affects such paternal feelings of love. The moment is one of the greatest anxiety, an irritating expression may cause a blow, a scuffle, a pell-mell conflict, the sacking and pillaging of this fine city, and wholesale bloodshed among its inhabitants. Before this letter leaves the port of Liverpool, we may hear that Berlin is in flames, or that the King of Prussia is in London. May the Berlin people be preserved from taking the sword—may they not go beyond passive resistance to the caprice and despotism of their weak-minded King, and they will gain a glorious triumph, in which the friends of true liberty everywhere will exult.

The excitement connected with continental affairs carries our minds away from home, and, before noticing our home affairs, I must just advert to France, and observe, that the New Constitution was duly inaugurating in Paris last Sunday, when it had the advantage of the Archiepiscopal blessing, and the people had the disadvantage of remaining for hours in the falling snow to witness the ceremony. The papers in London affect to believe that Louis Bonaparte will be elected President, but the departure of members into the provinces in such numbers as to render it difficult to make a House, and their known opposition to "the nephew of my uncle," gives the hope that the people will be saved from spoiling their late work, by the foolish step on which they are bent.

The weekly report of the Registrar of Births and Deaths, dated the 15th, says: "With regard to the Cholera, the return of the number of deaths from it is nearly the same as that of the previous week; in the last week, 62 deaths were registered from this cause, against 65 of the preceding week, and 34 in the week before that, while the weekly average from this severe malady at this season of the year is only one. Of those who died from Cholera during the last week, 28 were under the age of 15; 27 were between the ages of 15 and 60; and the remaining 7 cases were above the latter age: and of these, 29 were males and 33 females." In the report is also the following observation, which confirms the fears formerly expressed as to the favorite localities of this disease, and which remark deserves much attention:

"The return shows that a very large proportion of the number of deaths from Cholera occurred in districts to the south of the Thames. It appears that only 11 deaths from Cholera were registered in the districts north of the Thames, while 51 were registered to the south of it—that portion of the metropolis, as is well known, containing a great many places which lie low and are undrained."

For the last fortnight our leading papers have contained *monster* advertisements in the shape of balance sheets from the principal railway companies, and the result has been to dissipate many of the apprehensions entertained as to their perfect solvency. It is however now felt, on the part of the directors, that amalgamations must be effected on a large scale, to make the expensive undertakings pay the shareholders; and on the part of the travelling public this plan, as well as that of lessening the number of trains, and curtailing their present advantages, gives much annoyance.

The accounts from the north of Ireland respecting the potato crops are of a more favorable character, while the south presents a sad array of famine, and all the sufferings for which that unhappy land has acquired such a "bad eminence." In anticipating the removal of Smith O'Brien and his companions from Clonmell to Dublin, a little insurrection was being established in "the Wilderness," in the neighborhood of the former place, and of course put down.

The Liverpool Financial Reform Association is pursuing its labors with unwearied perseverance, and by its skilful exposures of the excess of taxation will, in time, not fail to effect a great change in our present system. A speaker at a late meeting gave a good practical idea of our national debt by saying, "Take the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland at 28,000,000, and divide the debt by this number, and it leaves every one of us, English, Scotch, and Irish, man, women, and child, £29 in debt. Again: we have to pay £28,000,000 interest for this war debt, which is 28*s*. for every human being in these three kingdoms. The army, &c., estimates are £20,000,000 for this year, which is 14*s*. 3*d*. for every one."

I believe we shall soon have a grand anti-war-establishment agitation throughout this country, and that our people are getting hold of the idea that they are all in the wrong by relying on that military protection which they are compelled to sustain at such an enormous and unnecessary cost.

I am, dear sir, yours, most truly, O.

SUPREME COURT.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1848.—Present—Hon. John McLean, Hon. John Catron, Hon. John McKinley, Hon. Peter V. Daniel, Hon. Samuel Nelson, Hon. Levi Woodbury, Hon. Robert C. Grier, Associate Justices.

Mr. Justice McLean announced to the bar that the Court would commence the call of the docket, under the 36th rule, to-morrow.

Adjourned until to-morrow, 11 o'clock A. M.

TUESDAY.—Present as yesterday, and Mr. Justice Wayne.

No. 19.—T. L. Mace, plaintiff in error, *vs.* J. Wells. Argued by Mr. Collamer, for the plaintiff in error.

Adjourned.

WEDNESDAY.—Present as yesterday.

No. 11. Joshua Kennedy's executors, plaintiffs in error, *vs.* Jonathan Hunt et al. Argument commenced by Mr. John O. Sargent for the plaintiffs in error.

Adjourned.

THURSDAY.—Azor Taber, Esq., of New York, Stephen D. Law and John M. Barbour, Esqs., of the District of Columbia, Stephen Powers, Esq., of Texas, and Henry Welles Smith, Esqs. of Massachusetts, were admitted attorneys and counsellors of this Court.

No. 11 Joshua Kennedy's executors et al., plaintiffs in error, *vs.* Jonathan Hunt et al. Argument continued by Messrs. Underwood and Sargent for the defendants in error.

Adjourned.

FRIDAY.—George Taylor, Esq., of New York, and S. R. Mallory, Esq., of Florida, were admitted attorneys and counsellors of this Court.

No. 11. Joshua Kennedy's executors et al., plaintiffs in error, *vs.* Jonathan Hunt et al. Argument concluded by Mr. Reverdy Johnson for the plaintiffs in error.

Adjourned till Monday morning, 11 o'clock.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1848.

SENATE.

Mr. King presented the credentials of the Hon. Benjamin Fitzpatrick, appointed by the Governor of Alabama to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Hon. Dixon H. Lewis; and Mr. Felch presented the credentials of the Hon. Solon Borland, elected a Senator from the State of Arkansas, for the unexpired term of Ambrose Sevier, resigned.

The Vice President laid before the Senate the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury upon the state of the finances; which was ordered to be printed.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, moved the printing of 20,000 extra copies of the report, in order that information in relation to the new system of finance, which had gone into operation under the direction of the present Secretary, and which Mr. Davis considered had been in operation long enough to give ample evidence of its superiority, might be freely circulated throughout the country.

Mr. Cameron opposed the printing of so large a number, and asserted that the People had, in the recent Presidential election, decided against the financial system of the present Secretary of the Treasury; such, at all events, was the case in his State. The Democratic party there had been defeated upon that issue; and he very much feared that another defeat would follow the present, unless some alteration was made in the present system.

Some further debate ensued, in which Messrs. Davis of Mississippi, King, Cameron, Allen, Hale, Foote, Niles, Westcott, and Metcalfe, participated.

Mr. King did not think the Tariff question had been an issue in the recent contest.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, said that if it had been tested in any particular locality, the issue was kept back from the country at large.

Mr. Hale said he would vote for the printing of the smallest number of the documents proposed. He considered that this printing of documents had got to be a great abuse, and seemed to indicate the establishment of one of the maxims of Solomon, which he promulged in his wisdom long ago: "Of making many books, there is no end." [Laughter.] He hoped they might, however, find an end to this making of books.

He wished, before he should sit down, to say a word in reply to the gentleman from Pennsylvania. He was surprised to hear from that gentleman, that the People of this country had, in the late Presidential election, decided against the Tariff of 1840, and in favor of the Tariff of 1842. So far as he knew anything about the late contest—which had been decided so happily for some, and not quite so happily for others—the matter alluded to did not enter very much into the canvass. The only question that was agitated in the Northern States, so far as his observation went, was, whether General Taylor or Mr. Van Buren was the most genuine Free Soil candidate. It was contended by those who have been successful in the issue, that General Taylor was a true, *bona fide*, real, genuine, Simon Pure, Free Soil candidate; and that Martin Van Buren and his friends were mere spurious interlopers, and had no right to claim a piece on the Free Soil platform. [Laughter.] And, if the result had settled anything, it was this: that General Taylor was the genuine Free Soil candidate, and was elected as such. Mr. Hale thought it was treating with unfairness the great Free Soil party, that had been triumphant—that had succeeded in electing their man—for the gentleman from Pennsylvania to come in and claim any of those secondary and subordinate interests as predominant. But the matter should be taken exactly as it is; and the verdict of the People was, that the *true* Free Soil candidate at the late election was General Taylor. The question had been settled, and he hoped that the Secretary would be directed to make up the record accordingly; and trusted that they might never hereafter be told that the question at issue was the Tariff of 1846. [Renewed laughter.]

Mr. Foote was sure that the Senator from New Hampshire had made a great mistake. He would state, upon his honor, that throughout the entire West and Southwest General Taylor was known everywhere in opposition to Free Soil, and his opponent was objected to by many, on the ground that he might not be quite so good an anti-Free Soil man as the candidate of the Whig party.

Mr. Cameron said he was led to the conclusion that General Taylor was the Free Soil candidate in the South, from the vote of Mississippi. [Laughter.]

The question being taken on the motion to print 20,000 extra copies, it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 29, nays 21.

Mr. Douglas presented an interesting memorial from William H. Aspinwall and others, of New York, setting forth the importance of a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama, to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific, and proposing to construct such a road with their own means, asking the Government simply to contract with them at a reasonable price for the transportation of its mails and munitions of war over said road, for a period of twenty years—the road to be completed within three years. The memorial was ordered to be printed.

Mr. Badger presented a memorial of the Kekukee Primitive Baptist Association, in the State of North Carolina, praying the repeal of all laws authorizing the appointment of Chaplains to Congress, the army, navy, and other public stations, and that Congress will not further legislate on the subject of religion; which was read and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Douglas, pursuant to notice, introduced a bill for the admission of California, as a State, into the Union; which was read twice and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, introduced a joint resolution, providing for the re-appointment of Hon. Rufus Choate, of Massachusetts, and Gideon Hawley, of New York, as Regents of the Smithsonian Institute; which was read three times and passed.

On motion of Mr. King, the Senate proceeded to the election of a Chaplain; when, upon the first ballot, the Rev. Henry Slicer, having received 28 votes out of 47 cast, was reëlected.

The Senate then adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On motion of Mr. Truman Smith, and after debate, the rules of the House during last session of Congress were adopted for the government of the present.

The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury was received, and 10,000 extra copies ordered to be printed.

Mr. Ashmun stated that he had received a letter from Messrs. Gales & Seaton, withdrawing their names as applicants for printing the debates of the House. They did not wish to be considered the "pensioned agents" of any Government.

The States being called, a large number of resolutions of every class and variety were introduced and disposed of.

Mr. Goggin introduced his bill to reduce the rates of postage, making them uniform; and to correct the abuse of the franking privilege. Referred to the Committee of the Whole, by yeas 77, nays 47.

Mr. Cobb introduced a bill to prevent either House from disposing of any part of its contingent fund, except by joint resolution. Read twice, and ordered to a third reading.

A proposition was received from James Gordon Bennett, of the New York Herald, proposing to publish the proceedings and debates of the House, for the present session, for $12,000, and guarantying a daily circulation of 20,000 copies. Referred.

Among the resolutions offered was the following, by Mr. Eckert, of Pennsylvania, which was agreed to—yeas 96, nays 93.

Resolved, That the Committee of Ways and Means be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a Tariff bill, based on the principles of the Tariff of 1842.

After the transaction of other unimportant business,

The House adjourned.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1848.

SENATE.

Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, appeared in his seat.

Numerous petitions of no general interest were presented.

A resolution, by Mr. Bradbury, setting apart Thursday of each week for the consideration of private bills.

On motion of Mr. King, and by unanimous consent of the Senate, the standing committees were then appointed *viva voce*, the names of the several committees having been agreed upon informally. The names of the Chairmen are as follows:

Foreign Relations—Mr. Hannegan.
Finance—Mr. Atherton.
Commerce—Mr. Dix.
Manufacture—Mr. Dickinson.
Agriculture—Mr. Sturgeon.
Military Affairs—Mr. Benton.
Militia—Mr. Rusk.
Naval Affairs—Mr. Yulee.
Public Lands—Mr. Breese.
Private Land Claims—Mr. Downs.
Indian Affairs—Mr. Atchison.
Claims—Mr. Mason.
Revolutionary Claims—Mr. Bright.
Judiciary—Mr. Butler.
Post Office and Post Roads—Mr. Niles.
Roads and Canals—Mr. Hannegan.
Pensions—Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana.
District of Columbia—Mr. Johnson, of Ga.
Patents and Patent Office—Mr. Westcott.
Retrenchment—Mr. Turney.
Territories—Mr. Douglas.
Public Buildings—Mr. Hunter.
Contingent Fund—Mr. Walker.
Printing—Mr. Cameron.
Engrossed Bills—Mr. Rusk.
Library—Mr. Pearce.
Enrolled Bills—Mr. Rusk.

The resolutions relating to the power of Congress to make internal improvements, submitted during the last session by Mr. Bagby, were laid upon the table, with a view to future debate upon the subject.

The River and Harbor Improvement bill of last session was, on motion of Mr. Dix, recommitted to the Committee on Commerce.

Several messages in writing were received from the President of the United States.

On motion of Mr. Yulee, the bill to promote the efficiency of the military and naval establishments was made the special order of the day for Tuesday next.

After the consideration of Executive business, the Senate adjourned.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.
[PRICE OF THE WEEKLY TRIBUNE REDUCED.]
PROSPECTUS FOR 1849.

A YEAR of change and convulsion draws rapidly to its close—a year destined to be memorable in the history of Europe and of America. In this country it has witnessed the casting down of that delusive idol which made the mantle of Democracy a cloak for the most audacious crimes against Liberty and Humanity—against Freedom of Thought and of Action—against out-speaking Integrity and fearless Manhood. Come what may in the future, we are justified in believing that the power of a Name over the Nation's impulses and fortunes—the indolent credulity which empowered whatever was called "Democratic" to pass triumphant and almost unquestioned—has passed away forever. New circumstances will doubtless evolve new perils for the country; but the great peril of blind adherence to Party—of government by the potency of words and names—has passed away forever.

Europe, too, has experienced unwonted convulsions, and the signal fires of Freedom, re-lighted in February by the laborers of Paris, have swept over France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, and been kindled, but only to be quenched, in unhappy Ireland. They still blaze with cheering brilliancy from the watch towers of dauntless Berlin; they gleam and flash, it may be with dying but surely with glorious radiance, from the battlements of heroic Vienna. Throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, there are indications, not to be mistaken, of the stern uprising of the long-abused People against the tyrants who have so long oppressed and crushed them. Happy were it for all, if the despots and aristocrats so long gorged with the plunder of unrewarded Toil won't but seasonably realize that the old sorceries whereby Nations were lulled to sleep in wretchedness and chains have lost their power, and that Liberty and Justice are now demanded with a unanimity and earnestness which will not be overruled, trifled with, nor turned aside from its purpose. But the Few will not see what the Many have learned of their rights and wrongs: wherefore, blood will flow like water, and misery and desolation darken the face of the civilized world. But this will not endure. To the tempest and the whirlwind must succeed the calm and the sunshine. From the storm-tossed, deluge braving Ark of Freedom, the Dove of Peace will soon be loosed, gladdening Earth with the promise of Prosperity and Plenty.

In this season of conflict between antiquated Wrong and still older but long denied Right, THE TRIBUNE would fain fulfil the part of a faithful chronicler, who ardently holds with the Right, yet regards with charitable allowance the champions of the Wrong. For they who struggle against the resistless tide of Freedom and Progress are not demons, are not consciously tyrants nor minions of tyranny, but in their own conceptions upholders of Social Order and of Christian Faith, which this rushing, roaring tide of innova- [illegible]

THE DAILY TRIBUNE [illegible]

THE SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE [illegible]

THE WEEKLY TRIBUNE [illegible]

GREELEY & McELRATH, 154 Nassau street.

New York, November 25, 1848.

RECAPITULATION OF THE TERMS.

The Daily Tribune.
For one copy for a year - - - $5.00

The Semi-Weekly Tribune.
For one copy for a year - - - $3.00
For two copies for a year - - - 5.00

The Weekly Tribune.
For one copy for a year - - - $2.00
For three copies for a year - - - 5.00
For eight copies for a year - - - 10.00
For twenty copies for a year - - - 20.00

[illegible] Dec. 14—2t

THE NATIONAL ERA.

MR. GIDDINGS'S REPLY TO TRUMAN SMITH.

To the Hon. Truman Smith:

SIR: Your letter directed to Mr. Gregory, of this State, but in fact addressed mostly to myself, came first to my notice a few days before the Presidential Election, but too late for me to make any reply until that event had transpired. As the letter was obviously intended to attack my moral and political integrity, justice to myself and friends forbids that I should suffer it to pass unnoticed.

In my remarks at Delaware, to which you refer with so much apparent feeling, I noticed several acts of Mr. Van Buren which had been charged as favoring Southern institutions, by Messrs. Webster, Ewing, Corwin, and others. In extenuation of those acts of Mr. Van Buren, I cited the votes and official acts of the gentlemen who made the charges. This you call "heaping contumely" on these gentlemen. I know not by what authority you take upon yourself their vindication, or thus attempt to make up an issue for them. If they have been wronged by me, they are abundantly able to do themselves justice. When they, or either of them, shall call for explanation, they well know they will receive it; but I am not informed that either of them has authorized you to call me to account for what I said in relation to them.

You, however, possess the undoubted right to know what I said concerning yourself, and to understand clearly the evidences on which I based my statements. So far as you refer to the letter of General Taylor to Captain Allison, I will only remark that I distinctly informed the audience of the facts on which I based my opinion—that that letter was written at *Willard's Hotel, in Washington City*—and then left them to judge for themselves. I did not understand that you wrote the letter. It was said at the time that you and Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, wrote it. The very cautious language in which you deny that *you* wrote it, and the careful manner in which you evade all denial of your *knowledge that it was written by Mr. Crittenden* or by others, can leave no doubt of the real state of facts. If further evidence were necessary, I would refer to your own express declaration, made to the Hon. D. R. Tilden, a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention, that such a letter was written and sent to General Taylor, and that he signed it. But your evasive denial of this matter has been abundantly exposed by the editor of the *Union* and by the editor of the *National Era*. I will, therefore, occupy no more time on this portion of your extraordinary letter, but will pass to that part which is more particularly of a personal character.

You say that I "*reviled* you for the opinion which you entertained of General Taylor." It is very extraordinary that you should allege that I reviled you, without letting your readers know what I said. You must have been wrongly informed. I stated very distinctly, and with feelings of sincere regret, that your feelings in regard to the constitutional rights of the people of the free States were radically different from mine. I hold that Congress had no constitutional power to involve the people of Ohio in the expense, the disgrace, or the turpitude, of sustaining the slave trade or slavery; while you held that we were bound to contribute to their support, to share in their disgrace, and so participate in their guilt. As evidence of these facts, I stated to the audience that in the last Congress you were a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which reported a bill to pay from the Treasury seventy thousand dollars to the Spanish slave-merchants who pretended to own the people on board the "Amistad." That the records thus show you to be in favor of supporting the Spanish slave trade at the expense of the people of Connecticut and Ohio. I thus referred to the official documents of the nation showing your public acts, and this you seem to regard as a reproach upon your character. I also stated to the audience that, in the present Congress, you were chairman of the same committee, which, during the late session, reported bills to pay over certain moneys to slaveholders in Maryland, as a compensation for slaves, who, during the late war with England, escaped from their masters in that State on board the British fleet. That you held it to be your constitutional duty as a Representative in Congress to legislate upon the price of human flesh, and blood, and bones, and sinews; while I regard such legislation as subversive of the rights of the people of the free States, and disgraceful to the Representatives of freemen. You voted for those bills. There stand your official acts upon the records of the country. If they constitute a *reproach*, the fault is yours, not mine. I spoke and voted against those bills. There you and myself were placed in direct opposition to each other. It was therefore quite natural that you should support a candidate for President who would be willing thus to involve the people of Ohio in the disgrace and turpitude of Slavery, while I, with my views of the Constitution, and of our rights under it, could sustain no man who held such doctrines.

I stated other and still more important reasons why you and I should be likely to differ in our candidates for President. You had frequently declared the "Wilmot Proviso," or the exclusion of Slavery from the territory which we have acquired from Mexico, to be a "*humbug*," and was therefore willing to support as a candidate for President a slaveholder, whose education, interest, and social relations, led him to favor the extension of slavery, without any expression of his opinions in opposition to such an encroachment upon our constitutional rights. This act of riveting the chains of oppression upon unborn millions of our race, and of degrading our own offspring by placing them in union with the slaveholders of New Mexico and California, upon terms of disgraceful inequality; giving to the holder of one hundred slaves in those States, power and influence over our own rights and interests equal to sixty-one of the intelligent citizens of Connecticut or Ohio; I regard as a subversion of the Constitution, a high-handed offence against Heaven, and an outrage upon mankind, unequalled in the history of Christian nations. On this subject you and I were diametrically opposed. As statesmen and as Christians we stood in unmistakable opposition to each other on all these questions. You, of course, would support a candidate whose sentiments agreed with your own. I could not be expected to support any one whose principles were thus abhorrent to my own views of propriety. I, therefore, assured the people of Delaware county that your anxiety for General Taylor could in no degree influence me to support him. I gave the audience clearly to understand that it was impossible that you and I could agree upon a Presidential candidate, as we differed upon the elementary principles upon which our Government was based. I have thought it proper to reply thus far to your charge of having "reviled" you. I now proceed to notice your attacks upon myself.

You assail me in a manner quite unusual among gentlemen occupying the stations which we fill. You say that you have caused the Journal of the House of Representatives to be searched, in order to determine the number of times during the late session which I failed to answer to my name on the call of the yeas and nays. This I believe the first time that ever a Member of Congress acknowledged himself to have entered upon such a work. For the dignity of the body to which we belong, I hope it may be the last. Sir, do you really imagine that you can make my constituents suspect my habits of industry? You little know the character of the people to whom these imputations are addressed. Can you imagine yourself to have been constituted my overseer? Has it come to this, that you consider yourself clothed with supervisory powers over the Representatives of seventy thousand of the sovereign people of our gallant State! Have they, sir, requested you to sit in judgment on the habits of their Congressional agent? Had you referred to my official acts, to my votes, or to my political opinions, I should have felt no disposition to reply. My opinions and public acts have not altogether escaped public scrutiny, and they are the proper subjects of examination. But to them you take no exception, while you attempt to charge me with inattention to my public duties. Permit me to say, sir, that there are members of that body whom my constituents would be willing to excuse, if they never appeared in their seats on any occasion.

I think you cannot be ignorant that I have long regarded the practice, so common in the House of Representatives, of frequently calling the yeas and nays, as an unnecessary waste of time, and disreputable to that body. When they are called on adjournments, and on the "calls of the House," and for suspending the rules, I usually pay no attention to them, but occupy my time in other business. We are told that in the early days of the Republic they were seldom called more than six or eight times in a session. You say they were called *three hundred and thirty-eight times* during the late session. Each call occupies about twenty minutes. One hundred and twelve hours were thus occupied. Our daily sittings would average less than four hours, and, including Sabbaths, more than one month's time was wasted in this useless ceremony. But supposing twenty of those calls were really proper; yet at least one-ninth part of the whole session must have been wasted. And you complain that I did not waste my time with the others. To discourage this practice, I have refused to answer to my name in all cases except such as I deemed of some importance. If you or any one will show an instance in which I failed to answer to my name where the question was of the least importance to the public, I shall admit that I was absent from the House. But these attempts on my part to discourage what I have long regarded an evil, you have endeavored to torture into evidence that I was absent from my seat. I was often told that evil-disposed persons would make such an attempt to misrepresent me to my constituents. I uniformly answered, that I represented a constituency too intelligent to be affected by acts of such a character.

You say that you are always on hand, (except for special reasons,) prepared to give your vote. It is not my business to call you to account on that subject. But it always looks suspicious to see a man making himself the trumpeter of his own merits. I have not the Journal of the House of Representatives before me, nor can I get it short of Washington City; but I will hazard the opinion that you were absent during the late session a far greater number of times than I was. You were frequently gone, as was said, to raise funds to promote the election of General Taylor. And you was also in attendance at the Philadelphia Convention. But in this attempt to stigmatize me, and to hold yourself up as a pattern of official industry, you have provoked scrutiny. You were not only absent yourself on political errands, but you were instrumental in getting others to leave Congress for other purposes. I do not wish to name other gentlemen, but I will make you this proposition: If you, through the National Intelligencer, will deny that you, as Chairman of the Whig Executive Committee, did not pay the expenses of other members of Congress who were absent from their seats for political purposes to the amount of five times the number of days that I was, I will endeavor to show your error by making out an account current for you, showing how many days' expenses you paid to each member who stumped it for General Taylor, during the session. Yet you seem to regard my absence at Buffalo and Massachusetts as a dereliction of duty. It is true that I went to Massachusetts, and was absent seven or eight days. It is also true that, in 1846, I went to Maine, *at your request*, and was absent twice as long as I was in Massachusetts, promulgating the same doctrines. You then approved of my absence and paid my expenses. If the doctrines I promulgated were right in 1846, they could not be wrong in 1848. Truth, like its Divine Author, is immutable. If my doctrines were correct in Maine, they could not have been erroneous in Massachusetts. But I think I shall be perfectly safe in saying that the speeches in favor of General Taylor, made for the purpose of promoting his election, occupied the whole House more days than I was absent both at Massachusetts and at Buffalo. This would show a loss of public time *two hundred and twenty-eight* times greater than that occasioned by my absence. For these abuses you have not a word of reproof.

But you also *accuse me of laboring to insure the election of General Cass*. Well, sir, suppose I had done so; would I have been more guilty, in the sight of God or man, than I would have been had I labored for the elevation of General Taylor? General Cass is admitted to be a *statesman*; General Taylor has never served in any civil office, nor given a vote for any man to office. But here were two candidates, both of whom I regarded as fully pledged to the extension of slavery over our Mexican territory. *This was the only question pending*; and both candidates were standing on the same policy. If I selected either, I should make myself a party to this crime of transcendent magnitude. The only service I could do my country and mankind in that contest was, to put forth my best efforts to arouse the public mind to the enormity of the measure. This I did to the extent of my power. I hoped to call up such a state of feeling as to defeat the policy to which they were pledged. As between the two, I felt entirely indifferent, though I was inclined to believe that the election of General Cass would have been less dangerous to the North than that of General Taylor.

But you say, if the election had come into the House, I would have probably cast my vote for General Cass. In this you are entirely wrong. I would rather have seen this Union blown to fragments, than I would have made myself a party to the extension of slavery. Neither Cass nor Taylor would have received my vote, unless they had given assurance that they would oppose the extension of slavery over New Mexico and California. I know that it is said we must take the choice of evils. In this case, the evil was the *same* if either were elected; there was therefore no choice. Nor could the nomination at Philadelphia place me under any obligation to participate in this iniquity of riveting the chains of servitude upon unborn millions of our race.

You say that "at the opening of the late session of Congress I repudiated the nomination of the Whigs for Speaker, factiously opposed the election of Mr. Winthrop, and from that time have been the bitter enemy of the Whig party." I regret this allusion to my vote against Mr. Winthrop. My reasons for that vote have heretofore been published. My constituents have approved it in the most unmistakable language. The premature and unnecessary surrender by Mr. Winthrop of his opposition to the annexation of Texas; his opposition to all efforts made to place Massachusetts in hostility to any Presidential candidate whose views in relation to extending slavery over New Mexico and California were unknown; the early declaration of his personal friends in favor of General Taylor; the anxiety of Southern slaveholders for his election to the office of Speaker; with many other circumstances, had convinced me that, if elected, he would so arrange the committees of the House as to continue the war of conquest in which we were then engaged, and to uphold the slave trade in the District of Columbia. When interrogated on these points, he refused to express his opinions. My constituents had kept me too long in Congress for me to remain ignorant of the mode in which Northern men are rendered subservient to the Slave Power. Had I been deceived, it would have been conclusive evidence of my unfitness for the station I held. I would as soon have voted for any man who dealt in slaves, as for one who, I was conscious before God, would lend his official influence to protect and uphold the traffic in men now carried on in the District of Columbia. Nor was it a matter of one moment's consideration with me, that the candidate was called a *Whig*; or that he was nominated by the Whig party. While we as a nation punish with death those who deal in the bodies of our fellow-beings on the coast of Africa, I could not vote for a man to the office of Speaker who, I was convinced, would lend his official influence to sustain the slave trade in Washington City. Nor could I feel that at the day of final retribution I could justify myself for such a vote, by pleading that the *Whig party* had nominated such a man. I therefore cast my vote against Mr. Winthrop. He was, however, elected by the aid of a Southern Democratic slaveholder. A majority of the committee which he appointed upon the District of Columbia were slaveholders.

In the month of April, an outrage upon humanity of a more enormous character transpired there, than any which had ever taken place in the city of Washington. That fiend in human shape, Hope H. Slatter, a notorious slave-dealer, in open daylight marched fifty-two mothers and daughters, husbands, wives, sisters and brothers, from the jail built with the money of our People, to the railroad depot; from whence they were taken to Baltimore, and there shipped to the New Orleans slave market. Mothers were torn from their children; husbands separated from wives; children were seen taking the last agonizing look toward their parents; while despair and unutterable horror marked each countenance in that mournful procession, as they were driven from home and friends, and all they held dear in life, to premature deaths amid the sugar and cotton plantations of the South. This was done under the laws of Congress. There was the Speaker elected by the Whig party—there were the committees arranged and constituted by him for the purpose of upholding and continuing these Heaven-daring crimes. A majority of them were *Whigs*. They at that moment held in their possession the petitions of thousands of our People from the free States, praying to be relieved from the guilt of sustaining this traffic in human beings. Yet scenes like this, nor all the influence that philanthropy could bring to bear upon them, could induce those Whig committees to take one step towards relieving your constituents and mine from the damning stain of such infamy. And you now taunt me for refusing to vote for a Speaker who has exerted his official power to uphold crimes like these! You claim him to be a *Whig*, and those committees to be Whigs, carrying out Whig doctrines and Whig practices, by thus maintaining a commerce in men created in the image of our God! If this be Whig doctrine and Whig practice, then I say distinctly, before Heaven, *I am no Whig*.

I believe it would be no more offensive to God, for our nation to make merchandise of you and me, or of that Whig Speaker and those Whig *committees*, than it is to sustain a commerce in the bodies of those people who by the laws of Congress are now daily sold in Washington City. My constituents would be as willing to see your children sold in market as those of other men. They would be as willing to see your wife torn from your embrace, and sold into degrading servitude and doomed to premature death, as they are to see the wives of other men subjected to such lingering murder. Nor, sir, can the name *Whig* sanctify such crimes with them. They are a moral and religious people. They do not indulge the belief that they can justify such crimes before an Omniscient Judge, by saying that "*they did it in order to uphold the Whig party*." Sir, you mistake the character of my constituents entirely. They are an enlightened people. They understand the distinction between *principle* and *party*—between *measures* and *men*. They have ever been foremost in the support of *Whig doctrines*—the strongest Whig district in the United States. They have been such upon principle, and they despise the power of party, when it comes in conflict with the great moral and political truths on which our Government was based. No party cry can drive them. Acting upon the dictates of enlightened consciences, guided by accurate knowledge of political matters, they look with contempt upon the miserable artifices put forth by demagogues and designing politicians, to mislead them. They stand pledged to God and man to exert their utmost to separate the Federal Government and themselves from crimes like those which are now upheld by the Whig Committees of the House of Representatives. They well understand that no effectual movement in that body can be made, except through those committees, unless two-thirds of the House consent. The slaveholders will not willingly cease their traffic, and they vote against all efforts to stop the slave trade. These committees therefore stand between humanity and the slave dealers, sustaining and protecting them in carrying on a commerce in our fellow men. These committees were appointed for that purpose by a Speaker elected by the Whig party. And you now attempt to anathematize me for not voting for a man who, I was conscious, was pledged to this very policy.

The bearing which your letter was designed to exert upon me, or my political influence, is of small importance; but so far as it is an attempt to establish and carry into exercise the tyranny of party, by proclaiming your bull of excommunication against me for daring to obey my conscience and God's law, in preference to the biddings of a political party, it is worthy of serious reply; indeed, except for this consideration, I should not have answered you. Sir, I think the day for wielding the lash of party has gone by forever. It can effect little among intelligent and honest men. They feel that each is morally responsible for his own political conduct. Men have learned to think for themselves. They knew that God has given them powers of thought and reflection for the purpose of being exercised. They feel that by voting for men who uphold and sustain crimes, they make themselves partners in guilt. *You* may regard the slave trade now carried on in the District of Columbia as a matter of no importance; but the people of Ohio look upon it with loathing and disgust. No fears of being excommunicated from the Whig party could drive them to sustain for office any man who would exert his official power to uphold that disgrace of our nation and humanity. Nor could they knowingly be led to the support of a man who, by the ties of education, of interest, and of association, was pledged to establish slave markets upon soil now consecrated to freedom. I fear and believe that some have been beguiled into the support of such a man for President. If so, a just retribution awaits those who have misled and deceived them. It is morally certain that Southern Whigs who supported General Taylor under the belief that he was favorable to the extension of slavery, or Northern Whigs who sustained him under the conviction that he was opposed to that national crime and disgrace, have been deceived. The President elect is in favor of that Heaven-defying iniquity, or he is opposed to it. God himself cannot be on both sides of that question. A few short months will determine whether the North or the South have been duped. Sir, as a friend, I would advise the supporters of General Taylor, who reside in the free States, to be a little cautious in their manifestations of confidence in their political power. If they shall exclude slavery from our newly-acquired territory—if they refuse admission to any more slave States—if they shall relieve the people of the free States and the Federal Government from the deep and damning guilt of maintaining a commerce in the bodies of men, now carried on upon our Southern coast and in the District of Columbia, and shall fully separate and purify the people of the free States from the contagion of slavery—then, sir, our "children will rise up and call them blessed." But if they extend slavery—if they admit more slave States to this Union—if they continue the slave trade upon our Southern coast and in the District of Columbia—if they continue to legislate in favor of slavery in the States—then retributive justice awaits them. They will, doubtless, secure to themselves the "loaves and fishes" of office for the time being; but the deep stain of their crimes will be rendered more distinct by the increasing light now brought to bear upon the acts of public men. Think not that the supporters of slavery can hide their public doings amid the obscurity of past years. A new era has dawned upon our country. The people of the free States are beginning to awake to the protection of their rights. Their concentrated scrutiny is directed to the votes and acts of our public men, and those who now surrender Northern rights at the bidding of the Slave Power cannot escape merited retribution.

You speak of the Whig party as a subsisting party; yet I think those Southern Democrats, and Nullifiers, and Native Americans, who voted for General Taylor, will not readily admit that they have become *Whigs*. There may be some doubt as to the propriety of calling New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Georgia, *Whig* States. But whether the Whig party still exists or not, is a matter of no importance. There *was* a time when the true "*Whig*" was understood to represent an unyielding opponent of the annexation of Texas, the extension of slavery, and of aggressive war. Henry Clay declared these as Whig doctrines when you and I supported him for the Presidency; but no sooner had he retired to the shades of Ashland, than a portion of the Whig party abandoned their opposition to the annexation of Texas, went over to the enemy, and voted for that outrage upon Northern freemen; and when the question of a war of aggression and conquest was presented, a large portion of the Whig party abandoned their former position, and voted for it. They came into power in December last, so far as the House of Representatives is concerned, yet they continued the work of rapine and slaughter, in order to rob Mexico of her territory. Nor was this all. They descended so far as to vote the thanks of the nation to those who had imbrued their hands in the blood of innocence; and then actually stole the whole Democratic thunder, by taking the chief instrument in carrying on this piratical war, as their candidate for the Chief Magistracy of our nation. For twenty-five years they had denounced and condemned the absurd practice of taking military chieftains for civil office, and then they suddenly turned round, and, declaring their former professions deceptive and hypocritical, took a man for President who had never voted, or held a civil office, and whose life had been entirely devoted to the mere profession of arms.

Sir, I opposed the annexation of Texas—I opposed the prosecution from that fatal 11th of May, 1846, until its close—and I rejoice that no portion of the guilt or crime of that war now "sits heavy on my soul." I opposed the vote of thanks to those officers whose hands were dripping with human gore—I opposed the taking of a military chief for President. Before God, I declare that I have kept the Whig faith—I have stood by its doctrines and maintained its principles. Can you say this? You, who now speak of *party*, but studiously avoid all reference to *principle*? Sir, you may well charge me with leaving the party by adhering to principle, for it were impossible to adhere to both. The Democratic party, too, had surrendered its position of opposing the extension of slavery, and its candidate for President had given up his political independence at the bidding of the Slave Power. Both candidates were pledged to the extension of slavery. To this outrage upon the rights of Northern freemen, thousands of both political parties were opposed. They could not support either candidate without an abandonment of both moral and political principle. Under these circumstances, a vast number of the friends of freedom met at Buffalo, to form a political association, based upon the principles of—

1. Unyielding opposition to the extension of slavery.
2. Unceasing hostility to all Legislative or Executive support of slavery or the slave trade, by the Federal Government.
3. The repeal of all acts of Congress heretofore passed for the benefit of that institution, or of the traffic in slaves, and the total liberation of the free States from the disgrace of slavery.

Basing its action upon these principles of truth and unfailing justice, the "Free Soil" party commenced its existence on the 10th of August last. In the short space of ninety days it holds the balance of power in Congress, and in the Legislatures of some five States in the Union. Its numbers are increasing more rapidly since the Presidential election than at any former period. Nor will its history be written, until the Government of this nation shall be extricated from the control of the Slave Power, and the people of the free States relieved of the burdens, freed from the odium, and purified from the guilt, of degrading our fellow men, and trafficking in the image of God. To the maintenance of these principles of our Constitution—to the attainment of these important objects—I stand fully and uncompromisingly committed. He who in good faith labors for the establishment of these doctrines, I regard as a friend and co-worker in the cause of truth and humanity. He who opposes them will be opposed by me. With these constitutional rights of our people of the free States, I stand or fall. Yours, J. R. GIDDINGS.

Jefferson, Ohio, Nov. 16, 1848.

EDITORS.—Mrs. ROYALL says of Editors, "Take them all in all, they are the greatest benefactors of the human race—the most worthy and worst rewarded." O, that the People would consider these things.

The Detroit *Free Press* nominates Gen. Cass for President in 1852.

FROM NEW MEXICO—OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY.

By advices from Santa Fe to the 18th October, we learn that General Lane had arrived there, and would remain a few days before setting out for Oregon.

The people in Convention have adopted a petition to Congress, asking for a speedy organization of a Territorial Civil Government, and firmly protesting against any dismemberment of their territory. *They also deprecate slavery, and ask to be protected by Congress against its introduction.*

Will Congress grant their request? Will it not do for them at least as much as the Congress of the Republic from which we have caused them to be alienated? What possible excuse can any member of Congress have for not complying with a request so reasonable?

A STRONG POINT.

The following communication puts a strong point of the controversy concerning the imposition of Slavery upon new territory, in a new, strong light. It is from the pen of a gentleman in the District, with whose productions the public are more familiar, through the columns of the old journals here.—*Ed. Era.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

The business of the approaching session of Congress was adverted to in an article under the editorial head of the National Intelligencer of Saturday last, a paragraph of which says that "the establishment of a Government for our lately acquired Territories of New Mexico and California is the only question which occurs to us as likely to produce any excitement at this session; and *that* rather because it did so at the last session, than from any other reason. The national election having in the mean time drawn much of the fire out of that cloud, let us hope that it will pass over without any hurtful explosion."

If the editor means the fire of liberty which has illuminated that cloud is to be drawn out, and the Territories of New Mexico and California are to be quietly surrendered to the owners of slaves, then we may anticipate no hurtful explosion. This was what Santa Anna wished when he summoned General Taylor to surrender. The Mexican General was afraid of the hurtful explosion of the cannon of that little band of heroes who were defending the pass of the enchanted valley.

If the Whigs are prepared to surrender our newly acquired Territories to slavery, then has the recent Whig victory been in vain. Then must the little band of heroes who are fighting for free soil add "a little more grape," and defend these Territories for freedom at all hazards, and to guide their footsteps in this glorious work. "The fire out of that cloud" may be a pillar of fire by night to give them light, and the pillar of the cloud by day to go by, day and night; a cloud of darkness to the enemies of freedom, but giving light by night to its advocates; and then the glories which now encircle the brows of the victors of Buena Vista (a beautiful sight) will form a halo around the heads of the conquerors of Free Soil.

Before seeing the article in the Intelligencer, I had partly prepared an article for your paper concerning the legislation of Congress for a class of citizens who seem to be overlooked in the general legislation for the country. In the Southern States there are numerous persons, meritorious citizens, called poor whites, who, born into the world without property and without the means of education, continue poor and ignorant throughout life.

They are seldom elected or appointed to offices of honor or profit, but when their country calls for the brave and sincere—the muscular strength of the nation—these citizens are forward with the foremost to fall into the ranks and do duty as privates; here they often fall indeed into the arms of death, and find a soldier's grave, with no stone to tell their name and lineage.

I sometimes passed by the hut of one of these; it stands by the roadside as you descend the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge, in Virginia.

On one occasion, being wearied, it gave me shelter, and the kind hostess supplied me with a cup of pure water from the neighboring spring, and a cake of corn bread. Reader, if you have ever been hunting in the forests, and lost your path, and out of provisions, you know how sweet was this Indian cake.

The family consisted of a mother and three grown-up daughters, and two boys of perhaps 10 and 12 years—these were all that were at home. The father and the eldest son had entered the army as privates—the former perished by the climate on the banks of the Rio Grande, the latter escaped unharmed, had recently returned with an honorable discharge, and was now in the Western country, seeking a suitable place to locate his bounty land for a new home, where he might gather his mother and sisters, and provide for them a better living.

All the land which this family possessed was one acre, on which was built their family hut, a shed for the horse and cow, and a pen for the pigs. The area was yearly planted with Indian corn, and, strange as it may appear to some of your readers, was cultivated by the mother and daughters; not only cultivated, but sacks of corn were actually carried by the girls, on foot, to the neighboring mill. The mother told me this had not formerly been the case, when they kept a horse; but it they had been obliged to sell, for means to fit out the men for the army.

In their days of prosperity, the father and son supported the family partly by hunting and partly by hauling wood to the neighboring village. If you have ever travelled that way, you may have passed the team—a small horse of bright sorrel, with white face and one white foot, mane and tail long and shaggy, and whole body lean and lank. If you have seen this team, you will recollect that one trace was of rope, and the other part of chain and part of leather. This team could carry not more than a quarter of a cord of wood, and the produce of a day's labor for man and horse would not exceed 75 cents; but this sufficed for ready money to buy powder and shot to supply his family with game, and a little whiskey for himself.

Sometimes, in my gunning excursions, I have met the proprietor of this establishment; once, when leisure served me, he took the opportunity of relating some of his troubles, which I found consisted chiefly in the insults he received from the blacks on the neighboring plantations. They stole his poultry, they worried his cow, they broke his fences, laying open his little enclosure, to be destroyed by wandering cattle. Their heavy plantation wagons would often run against his cart, and sometimes break it; but his most serious grievance was from a negro song, where the "poor white" was introduced with great glee by the negroes when they passed his cottage. He sighed for the time to come when he should be able to locate in the far West, out of sight of the "black sarpents," as he called them. His career ended differently from his calculations—on the west side of the Rio Grande he sleeps in peace. Among my memoranda I have notes of his life and character, and may some time write his biography. My object at present is to call the attention of Congress to the class of persons to which he belonged.

There may be a million, or perhaps two or three million, of poor citizens in the Southern States, as the poor generally outnumber the rich.

Now, these poor people can emigrate to New Mexico and California without much expense, and will emigrate there, provided these Territories remain free from the scourge of slavery. Under the present preëmption laws, a poor white citizen can take possession of 160 acres of Government land. In California, it is now customary to employ the free Indians as laborers. The Virginia emigrant may thus be seated on a plantation at very little expense, and may employ ten Indians at about 25 cents per day each, and in this way will soon be a man of some consequence in that part of the country; whereas, if slavery were fixed upon the Territory as an institution, it would root out the system of free labor by the Indians, for an Indian has seldom been known to work with a slave. Then none but the rich could move to that country, for the employment of ten laborers would involve the employment of ten thousand dollars as capital wherewith to purchase ten slaves and transport them to California. To be sure, slaves may be introduced into that country a little cheaper by carrying thither female slaves, and commencing the business of slave-breeding; but the subject is so abhorrent that I will not mention it more.

The system of employing the Indians would elevate a numerous class of persons in this country to an equality with their more wealthy fellow-citizens, and the employment of the Indians would tend to civilize and Christianize these wild men of the woods.

These emigrants being elevated in position in society, and feeling the want of education which they themselves had been deprived of, would be among the first to assist in establishing the common school system, that their children might reap the advantages which learning gives to men among men, and no longer suffer the opprobrium of "poor white" from the servants of their more wealthy neighbors.

The only legislation which Congress is called upon to enact to promote the welfare and happiness of this large class of our fellow-citizens in the Southern States, is to pass a law forbidding slavery in our lately acquired Territories of New Mexico and California. This is the only remedy which occurs to me as likely to allay the excitement at present existing in the country on that subject. If any of your correspondents can find out a better remedy, the public no doubt will be pleased to know it, as calm and quiet are preferable to excitement, unless it be to be zealously affected in a good cause. K.

FRIEND BAILEY: Having occasion to write, to forward $5 for three new subscribers, pursuant to the new terms of the *Era*, I avail myself of the opportunity to say a few words on several points.

I notice the *Era* puts down the Free Soil vote of Chester county at 485, as at first reported. The official returns make it 507. Besides these, our movement was the means of causing a large number to stay away from the polls, who would not vote for Cass or Taylor; and yet, through fear or prejudice, were not prepared to vote for Van Buren.

Our vote in the State seems small; but when the close vote for Governor is remembered, it is not so strange. The Hunker party thought the struggle would be close and severe, and therefore no means were left untried to gain a vote. Falsehood and misrepresentation were the order of the day, with a press at their command to bear these to every voter, while we were comparatively without any, which left such of our friends as could be moved by lies, a prey to their own unprincipled efforts. Now it is over, no class are more rejoiced or hopeful than the Free-Soilers. The Cass men in this State see they have thrown their votes away, and the Taylor men look scared, and many of them feel that there is no certainty that theirs is not worse than thrown away—that their man is elected by the cry of "Taylor and Free Soil"—one of the most stupendous frauds ever practiced upon any people—while others again glory in their triumph, with the hope of spoils, and the pleasure of "defeating the Locofocos." This is a large and dangerous class, who, like others, marched to victory under the banner of Free Soil, but, now that it is won, show that that question had no real influence upon their minds. This is the leading influence of the party, and it is quite time the alarm was sounded, and the eyes of the entire people concentrated upon this Taylor party; or, rely upon it, the question of Freedom in the Territories will be compromised. They will either press some compromise through the coming session of Congress, to clear Taylor entirely, or knowing, as they do, that he will not sign a Wilmot Proviso bill, they will get up a jumble to cheat the People, and one that Taylor can approve.

Look out for this Taylor party. More profligacy was never exhibited by any party in its progress and triumph; and to expect good fruits from its success, is to expect to gather grapes from thorns.

I rejoice that everywhere 300,000 Free-Soilers are up, awake, active, directing a steady eye upon the foe—their press earnest and determined, and their swelling ranks will yet carry dismay into that party which shall dare yield another foot of national territory to the Slave Power.

Foremost among these are the glorious "Barnburners" of New York State, and the noble and loved Wilmot of our own. What a magnificent position do these occupy, when compared with the once admired Seward, Corwin, Greeley, now trailing in the dust, mere appendages of Taylorism, to be shook off, rejected, and spurned, by that *ism*, as the reward due apostates to principle.

Thy friend, J. FULTON, JUN.

CINCINNATI, *Nov. 30, 1848.*

DEAR DOCTOR: The Hutchinsons are here. They draw crowds in Cincinnati, as they do everywhere. They form a glorious band of singers. They sing "with the heart and with the understanding also." They give utterance to their genuine sentiments, without reservation or fear. To me, and I doubt not to others, this is their chief attraction. Other singers may possess as much merit as mere vocalists; but none, that I have ever heard, evinced as much boldness for Truth and the Right. Success to them! May honor and emolument, proportioned to their great deservings, attend and follow them!

You fell into a mistake, I think, in your last *Era*, in relation to the election of a successor to Senator Allen, of this State, in Congress. You seemed to think his successor may be a Whig; I do not. The members elected as Free-Soilers will, beyond doubt, hold the balance of power in our State Legislature this coming winter. If they remain firm—and I know no reason to fear they will not—no Taylor Whig can be elected, except by Cass votes. Then no Taylor Whig is likely to obtain. It is possible, however, that a Hunker Democrat may be elected by Taylor votes. If this be not done, a Free-Soiler will be elected, or there will be no election. If the Free-Soilers in the Legislature should not stand firm, but go to their old associations, a Hunker Senator may then be elected without the aid of Taylor votes. A few days, now, will determine much.

A very interesting judicial investigation is now going forward, as to the sanity of old Mr. Hathaway, who, you may have heard, purchased, thirty-seven years ago, some thirty-five acres in the western part of the city, part of the Ludlow estate, for about thirty-five dollars per acre. The land, or rather the residue, after some sales embracing a few acres, is now worth, in the estimation of the most competent judges, at least 400,000 dollars. About two years since, the second wife of the old man, an excellent woman by all reports, died. Some twelve days after her death, he married an Irish servant maid, and soon after commenced giving parts of his property to her sister and friends. Within the last few months, a young man, named Avar, married this sister, and, a few weeks afterwards, the old man conveyed this entire property to him, in trust for his wife during *his* life, and after his death to convey to her and her heirs, in fee—thus depriving himself of all control over this great property, and disinheriting his children. The old man retains nothing except some houses and lots, worth say forty or fifty thousand dollars. A good deal of evidence has been given, proving the insanity of the old man's father, his unnatural aversion to his own children, the circumstances of his last marriage, &c., but the case has not yet been submitted to the jury. Much interest is felt in the result. Mr. Chase and Mr. Fox appear for the petition; Mr. Storer and Judge Walker against it. Yours, V. W.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RETURNS.

CONNECTICUT—(Official.)

Counties.	Taylor. (1848)	Cass. (1848)	V. B. (1848)	Clay. (1844)	Polk. (1844)	Birney. (1844)
Hartford	6,000	5,345	810	6,259	5,624	287
New Haven	5,273	4,516	806	5,546	4,726	229
New London	4,020	3,421	776	4,081	3,709	304
Fairfield	5,096	4,164	462	5,368	4,599	142
Windham	2,266	2,262	799	2,620	2,514	363
Litchfield	3,918	3,674	800	4,668	4,335	368
Middlesex	2,136	2,152	361	2,324	2,354	130
Tolland	1,665	1,612	191	1,964	1,950	120
Total	30,314	27,046	5,005	32,832	29,841	1,943

PENNSYLVANIA—(Official.)

Counties.	Taylor. (1848)	Cass. (1848)	V. B. (1848)	Clay. (1844)	Polk. (1844)	Birney. (1844)
Adams	2,576	1,762	25	2,609	1,891	6
Allegheny	10,112	6,591	779	8,083	5,713	404
Armstrong	2,030	2,126	141	1,453	1,959	38
Beaver	2,655	2,303	530	2,792	2,172	270
Bedford	2,836	2,816	1	3,147	2,987	5
Berks	5,082	9,485	51	4,000	8,874	3
Blair	2,476	1,435	4	(new county.)		
Bradford	3,272	1,889	1,780	3,235	3,568	63
Bucks	5,140	5,364	163	4,802	5,251	27
Butler	2,505	2,247	173	2,247	2,112	135
Carbon	889	1,184	1	531	905	—
Cambria	1,233	1,356	12	996	1,123	2
Centre	1,856	2,611	4	1,860	2,125	7
Chester	5,019	5,360	507	6,070	5,550	106
Columbia	2,263	3,396	29	1,738	3,370	1
Clarion	1,372	2,316	37	814	1,683	7
Clearfield	761	1,168	23	544	874	—
Clinton	911	967	1	788	875	—
Crawford	2,205	2,748	621	2,636	3,334	139
Cumberland	3,242	3,178	25	3,092	3,155	5
Dauphin	3,708	2,254	34	3,285	2,401	16
Delaware	2,191	1,547	84	2,090	1,446	15
Elk	134	242	16	101	128	9
Erie	3,418	2,022	357	3,621	2,226	74
Fayette	3,045	3,441	73	2,804	3,439	35
Franklin	4,906	3,189	4	3,901	3,228	—
Greene	1,476	2,379	52	1,418	2,354	19
Huntingdon	2,590	1,922	25	4,086	2,575	—
Indiana	2,410	1,544	204	2,200	1,446	80
Jefferson	887	972	19	591	731	5
Juniata	1,179	1,212	1	1,059	1,200	—
Lancaster	11,390	6,080	163	10,295	5,943	21
Lebanon	2,996	1,862	2	2,636	1,791	—
Lehigh	2,978	3,199	3	2,553	2,811	—
Luzerne	3,516	3,991	176	2,699	3,950	29
Lycoming	2,036	2,357	9	2,012	2,629	19
McKean	367	418	22	340	419	3
Mercer	2,977	3,094	1,080	2,840	2,869	604
Mifflin	1,548	1,586	26	1,548	1,519	9
Montgomery	5,040	5,627	251	4,491	5,596	49
Monroe	518	1,830	3	414	1,806	1
Northumberland	1,765	2,258	8	1,547	2,446	7
Northampton	3,191	4,203	33	2,776	3,870	—
Perry	1,502	2,295	5	1,370	2,321	—
Philadelphia city	10,635	5,266	309	9,359	5,369 }	227
Philadelphia co.	20,575	16,244	568	13,972	13,482 }	
Pike	216	709	3	151	769	—
Potter	226	468	248	240	554	40
Schuylkill	4,989	3,710	34	5,571	3,404	3
Somerset	3,018	1,127	21	2,600	1,035	6
Sullivan	129	303	19	(new county.)		
Susquehanna	1,853	2,563	301	1,802	2,697	93
Tioga	1,350	1,344	1,040	1,169	2,181	23
Union	3,129	1,656	25	2,778	1,765	18
Venango	1,061	1,538	164	986	1,377	65
Warren	948	1,088	136	899	1,149	17
Washington	3,898	3,820	463	3,872	2,973	206
Wayne	997	1,642	202	899	1,657	15
Westmoreland	3,124	5,197	122	2,672	4,973	71
Wyoming	861	892	37	811	899	13
York	4,838	5,151	4	4,237	5,071	1

1848.

Total vote for Taylor	186,113
Total vote for Cass	172,661
Total vote for Van Buren	11,263

1844.

Total vote for Clay	161,203
Total vote for Polk	167,535
Total vote for Birney	3,100

VERMONT.

Counties.	Taylor. (1848)	Cass. (1848)	V. B. (1848)	Clay. (1844)	Polk. (1844)	Birney. (1844)
Bennington	1,559	1,150	616	1,656	1,450	168
Windham	2,648	808	1,443	2,642	1,703	385
Windsor	3,656	1,103	1,908	4,669	1,843	588
Rutland	2,211	741	1,377	3,584	1,578	333
Addison	2,558	319	1,035	2,527	772	312
Orange	1,780	1,414	1,808	2,076	1,910	412
Chittenden	1,762	571	1,516	1,924	1,444	386
Washington	1,398	1,693	1,108	1,650	2,085	301
Caledonia	1,367	1,158	888	1,762	1,730	184
Franklin	1,556	691	1,204	1,872	1,438	261
Orleans	1,056	662	636	1,193	833	246
Lamoille	289	474	754	485	759	411
Essex	370	331	42	392	331	18
Grand Isle	311	130	104	339	165	—

1848.

Total vote for Taylor	23,122
Total vote for Cass	10,948
Total vote for Van Buren	13,837

1844.

Total vote for Clay	26,770
Total vote for Polk	18,041
Total vote for Birney	3,954

MASSACHUSETTS—(Official.)

Counties.	Taylor. (1848)	Cass. (1848)	V. B. (1848)	Clay. (1844)	Polk. (1844)	Birney. (1844)
Suffolk	8,896	3,173	2,136	8,777	4,659	509
Essex	8,554	4,679	5,121	8,415	5,259	1,837
Middlesex	9,855	6,821	5,465	9,581	9,124	1,713
Worcester	5,825	5,058	8,342	9,359	7,562	2,147
Hampshire	3,055	1,070	1,806	3,725	1,605	626
Hampden	3,306	3,061	1,285	3,416	3,593	451
Franklin	2,133	1,542	1,645	2,725	2,017	423
Berkshire	3,549	2,387	1,549	3,656	3,885	401
Norfolk	4,740	2,451	3,608	5,217	4,287	888
Bristol	4,841	2,170	2,832	4,872	4,903	644
Plymouth	3,569	1,848	3,188	4,449	3,315	805
Barnstable	2,015	802	516	2,290	1,415	251
Dukes	200	133	81	302	255	24
Nantucket	414	89	159	633	237	41

1848.

Total vote for Taylor	61,072
Total vote for Cass	35,284
Total vote for Van Buren	38,133

1844.

Total vote for Clay	67,418
Total vote for Polk	52,846
Total vote for Birney	10,860

MARYLAND—(Official.)

Counties.	Taylor. (1848)	Cass. (1848)	V. B. (1848)	Clay. (1844)	Polk. (1844)
Allegany	1,579	1,620	3	1,424	1,491
Anne Arundel	1,693	1,486	5	1,777	1,503
Baltimore city	10,474	10,995	72	8,413	8,886
Baltimore county	2,527	2,669	7	2,401	2,716
Calvert	431	335	—	451	314
Caroline	492	580	—	680	552
Carroll	1,763	1,672	7	1,784	1,691
Cecil	1,504	1,444	4	1,527	1,508
Charles	769	398	—	785	519
Dorchester	1,367	820	—	1,377	903
Frederick	3,158	2,983	20	3,190	2,994
Harford	1,521	1,253	3	1,517	1,217
Kent	645	417	—	718	527
Montgomery	1,057	771	1	1,121	852
Prince George's	1,051	733	1	1,054	666
Queen Anne's	725	612	—	749	722
Somerset	1,413	1,005	—	1,449	903
St. Mary's	788	422	—	783	468
Talbot	708	719	1	795	712
Washington	2,688	2,434	1	2,623	2,505
Worcester	1,351	1,130	—	1,453	909
	37,702	34,528	125	35,981	32,676
	34,528			32,676	
Taylor's maj.	3,174		Clay's maj.	3,305	

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1848.

SENATE.

The Vice President [Mr. Dallas] and the following named Senators, who were not present yesterday, appeared in their seats this morning, viz: Messrs. Bright, Dayton, Miller, Niles, and Pearce.

The reading of the Journal having been dispensed with—

Mr. King, from the joint committee appointed on yesterday, reported that said committee had performed the duty assigned them, and that the President would transmit a communication to Congress at twelve o'clock this day.

The annual Message of the President of the United States was here received, by the hands of his private secretary; which was read.

The reading having been concluded, on motion Mr. Atherton, it was

Ordered, That ten thousand extra copies of the Message and accompanying documents be printed for the use of the Senate.

The Senate then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1848.

SENATE.

The Vice President laid before the Senate a report from the Secretary of State, showing the appropriations and disbursements of the State Department for the year ending June 30th, 1848. Laid on the table.

Also, a report of the Treasurer, accompanied by copies of his accounts for the third and fourth quarters of the year 1847, and the first two quarters of the year 1848. Laid on the table.

Mr. Phelps presented the credentials of his colleague, the Hon. William Upham, elected a Senator from the State of Vermont for the term of six years from the 4th of March next.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the joint resolution from the House, providing for the election of chaplains; which was concurred in.

After some ineffectual efforts to proceed at once to the election of chaplain, no quorum voting on any question,

The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Bingham gave notice of a bill for a grant of land to aid in the completion of the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal, in the State of Michigan; and a bill for the construction of a military road from Lansing, the capital of the State of Michigan, to Michigan, in said State.

On motion of Mr. Rockwell, of Connecticut, the House proceeded to the election of a chaplain.

Mr. Pollock nominated the Rev. Mr. Gurley, of the Presbyterian denomination.

Mr. Lord nominated the Rev. Orville Dewey, of the Unitarian denomination.

The roll having been called, the whole number of votes cast was 173, of which,

Rev. Mr. Gurley received	156
Rev. Mr. Dewey received	16
Rev. Mr. Cushman received	1
	173

Necessary to a choice, 87.

Mr. Gurley was therefore declared duly elected chaplain of the House during the present session.

Mr. Wentworth made an ineffectual effort to introduce the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to inform this House whether he has received any information of the imprisonment or arrest of citizens of the United States in the province of Ireland by the British authorities; and, if so, the causes thereof. And also, if not deemed inconsistent with the public interests, to inform this House what steps have been taken for their release, and to furnish it with copies of all correspondence that has taken place in relation to the matter.

The Speaker laid before the House several communications received at the close of the last session of Congress, but which were not laid before the House for want of time, viz:

A message from the President of the United States, assigning his reasons for his approval of the bill to establish the Territorial Government of Oregon. Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Also, certain papers from N. P. Trist, Esq., in addition to those laid before the House at its last session. Laid on the table.

Also, sundry reports from Departments, of no general interest.

The House then adjourned.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1848.

SENATE.

Mr. Borland, of Arkansas, appeared in his seat this morning.

DECEASE OF HON. DIXON H. LEWIS.

Immediately after the reading of the Journal, Mr. King, of Alabama, rose, announced the decease of his former colleague, which occurred on the 25th of October last, in the city of New York, and submitted the resolutions usually adopted on such occasions.

Mr. Dix and Mr. Dickinson each followed with a brief tribute to the memory of the deceased, when the resolutions were adopted, and

The Senate adjourned over to Monday next.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Journal having been read, Mr. Ashmun submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That in order to secure a more full, impartial, and prompt publication of the proceedings and debates of this House, the Clerk be authorized and directed to enter into a contract, to take effect from the beginning of the present session, and to continue until otherwise ordered by this House, with the proprietors of two daily papers, for the publication in each paper of the proceedings and debates of the House, for which the Clerk shall make weekly payment out of the contingent fund, at the rate of $7.50 for a column of brevier type: *Provided*, That the proceedings and current debates shall be transferred to the country edition of each of said papers, and one copy of each of said daily papers shall be furnished to each member during the sessions of Congress, without additional charge.

After the discussion of points of order relative to the propriety of receiving the resolution at that time,

Mr. Wentworth objected to the enormous expense which he supposed would be incurred under the resolution, and moved its reference to a committee.

Mr. Ashmun said the subject was investigated by a committee at the last session of Congress, and that the price proposed to be paid was found to be no more than a fair price for the labor required.

Mr. Wentworth had another serious objection to the adoption of the resolution. There were more than two parties in the country at the present day, and it was not just to pension the organs of but two of those parties, to the exclusion of the others. Why were not the Washington Globe, the National Era, and Mrs. Royall's paper, included in the proposition—each representing some one of the parties of the present day? Mr. W. believed that if the House understood all the points involved in the resolution, they would not give it the sanction of their votes; and considering the expenditure improper and uncalled-for, he would move to lay it upon the table, and if that motion failed, he would follow it with a motion for its reference to a committee.

Mr. Root said he would move to lay the resolution on the table, as a short way of getting rid of the whole subject. This was an attempt to procure the enactment of a measure which was rejected at the last session. Its effect would simply be to holster up the Old Hunkerism of both political parties, and to strengthen its hands for the work of putting down so-called heresies in both. Mr. R. could see no advantage to be derived from the proposed system of reporting. All that was said or done in the House which was worth reporting was already given to the country in a condensed form, and with promptitude and fidelity.

Mr. R. was proceeding with some remarks relative to the expense of the proposition pending, when a message was received from the Senate, announcing the action of that body in view of the decease of the Hon. Dixon H. Lewis, when

Mr. Harris, of Alabama, addressed the House, briefly recapitulating the principal events in the life and public services of the deceased; after which,

The House adjourned to Monday next.

THE LAKE CITIES.—The population of CLEVELAND, according to a census taken October, 184[illegible] was—

Males.	Females.	Total.
7,076	5,583	13,659
Add population in township		575
Total		14,234

A census of CHICAGO, completed on the 1st of September last, exhibits the following facts:

Males under 20	4,395
Males over 20	6,052
Females under 20	4,692
Females over 20	4,354
Total	19,724

This shows an increase since October 1st, 184[illegible] of 29½ per cent.

FITS! FITS!! FITS!!!

DR. HART'S VEGETABLE EXTRACT.

THE astonishing success which has attended the use of this invaluable medicine for epileptic fits, (or falling sickness,) spasms, cramps, convulsions, &c., renders it the most valuable medicine ever discovered. In fact, as a remedy for the above diseases, it stands unrivalled and alone. There is no other reliable remedy.

TEETHING, WORMS,

or costiveness, will produce this disorder. In all such cases, the Vegetable Extract is the only medicine which can be relied on with any degree of safety. Mothers who have such children should remember this.

MANY A CHILD,

the past year, who has suffered with this complaint, and has been given over by physicians to die, has been restored by the use of but one bottle of Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract.

From the Cincinnati Commercial.

REMARKABLE CURE.

The following certificate was given to Messrs. Thomas & Miles, Dr. Hart's agents for the sale of his Vegetable Extract, for the cure of epileptic fits or falling sickness. We are induced to give it a place in our editorial columns, from the fact that it is the only known medicine that will cure epilepsy, at the same time believing it to be one of the great discoveries in medical science. Physicians and men of science of all ages have been trying to discover a remedy for this disease, but all has been in vain until the present discovery of Dr. Hart; and we would now say to those afflicted with fits, despair no longer, for there is hope.

CINCINNATI, *August 26, 1848.*

GENTLEMEN: It is almost impossible for language to express with what heartfelt satisfaction I address these lines to you, for the purpose of informing you of the beneficial results that have been effected by the use of Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract.

My son, aged twelve years, has been severely afflicted with epileptic fits, and with such severity that the opinion was he could not be cured.

In one of his paroxysms, he fell and broke his arm. I called in Dr. Mulford, a very eminent physician, who re-set it. He informed me that my son's nervous system was very much deranged, and that it would be impossible to cure the fits of epilepsy, as epileptic fits were almost incurable, and employing physicians in his case would be only throwing money away.

I called upon Dr. Pultee; he informed me that the disease had assumed a chronic form, and it would take a long time to cure him, if he could be cured at all.

He became worse and worse, and I began to think there was no cure for him, until I saw the advertisement of Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract in one of our city papers, with certificates from persons who had been afflicted for ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty, and even forty years, and restored to health by the use of the Extract.

I called at your store, and, after conversing with Mr. Thomas, I came to the conclusion to purchase a three dollar package. It did little or no good. I thought I would try another, from the use of which I perceived some little benefit.

I then came to the conclusion to purchase a ten dollar box. I found that it was of so much service to him I was induced to purchase the second. And I am truly thankful that I did so, as by the use of the ten packages he has been restored to perfect health.

Should any person feel desirous of seeing him, and ascertaining farther particulars, I should be pleased to gratify them by their calling on me at my residence, southwest corner of Fourth and Park streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

ISAAC N. PERKINS.

Messrs. THOMAS & MILES, 169 Main street, Cincinnati, Ohio, agents for Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract, for the cure of epileptic fits.

A VOICE FROM KENTUCKY.

The following letter was sent to Dr. Hart, from a father whose daughter, aged seven years, had from two to sixteen epileptic fits per day. The original letter can be seen by calling on Thomas & Miles, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Extract from Mr. Bettis's Letter.

BRACKEN COUNTY, KY., *November 2, 1848.*

DEAR SIR: My daughter was seven years of age on the 26th of last October. In August last she was suddenly attacked with spasms and convulsions, and from the first part of August until she commenced taking the Vegetable Extract, four weeks, she never missed having from two to

SIXTEEN EPILEPTIC FITS

per day. I employed three eminent physicians without deriving any benefit whatever. Hearing of the cures performed by the use of the Vegetable Extract, I called upon Messrs. Seaton & Sharp, your agents for Maysville, and purchased

ONE PACKAGE,

described to them the situation of my child, who for several weeks of time had lost her power of speech, but her reason was still good. I can say, sir, with indescribable joy, that one package

CURED MY CHILD.

She has not had a fit since the second day she commenced taking the medicine. Several of my neighbors, who were witness to the almost miraculous efficacy of your medicine, are willing to testify to the above.

I remain yours, respectfully,
ARCHIBALD BETTIS.

To Dr. S. HART, New York.

Extract of a Letter received from Messrs. Seaton & Sharp.

MAYSVILLE, *November 22, 1848.*

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 18th is received, enclosing a letter from Mr. Bettis to Dr. Hart. The statement in regard to the purchase, &c., is substantially correct, and we have no doubt but that the effect of the medicine on his child was as described by him.

Yours, respectfully,
SEATON & SHARP.

Messrs. THOMAS & MILES, Cincinnati, Ohio.

A PHYSICIAN'S TESTIMONY.

In reference to the almost miraculous efficacy of this valuable medicine, we would refer the afflicted to the following testimony of Dr. J. Dart, one among the many eminent Physicians of Cincinnati:

CINCINNATI, *November 24, 1848.*

GENTLEMEN: In justice to Dr. Hart, I feel it my duty to send you the following, with permission to make use of it as you may deem advisable.

My child was severely afflicted with epileptic fits for nearly eight months. At times, he would have from twelve to fifteen fits in twenty-four hours.

Almost every kind of medicines generally used by physicians, for this most distressing complaint, was tried without any beneficial results.

In May last, I came to the conclusion to try Dr. Hart's Vegetable Extract. I called at your store, and purchased one package. I have the pleasure to inform you that the

ONE PACKAGE CURED HIM,

after all other medicines had failed.

My principal object in sending this communication is that those who are themselves or who have children thus afflicted may be induced to give it a trial, as I feel assured it will cure many cases of epilepsy, if taken and persevered in according to directions.

Should any person feel desirous of ascertaining further particulars in reference to my child's case, I should be pleased to have them call upon or address me, post paid, at my residence. I remain yours, truly,

J. DART, M. D.,
Third street, between Stone and Wood, N. ...

To Messrs. THOMAS & MILES, 169 Main street, Cincinnati, agents for the sale of Dr. S. Hart's Vegetable Extract, for the cure of epilepsy.

☞Prepared by S. HART, M. D., New York.

Price: One package	$3.00
Four packages	10.00
Eight packages	20.00

☞It is carefully packed up in boxes for transportation, and sent to any part of the United States, Mexico, and West Indies.

THOMAS & MILES,

No. 169 Main street, Cincinnati, Ohio, General Agents for the United States, to whom all communications must be addressed, post paid.

A. B. & D. Sands, 100 Fulton street, New York.
Abel Tompkins, 38 Cornhill, Boston.
Seth S. Hance, 108 Baltimore street, Baltimore.
L. Wilcox, jun., Diamond and Market streets, Pittsburg.
Gad Chapin, Eighth and Market streets, Louisville.
E. & H. Gaylord, Cleveland. Fay & Killbourne, Columbus.
Henry Blaksly & Co., St. Louis.
S. Wright & Co., New Orleans.
David Bugbee, Bangor. J. H. Reed & Co., Chicago.
David Craighead, Indianapolis. E. L. Hollidge, Buffalo.
Charles Stott, Washington, D. C.
H. D. Wade & Co., Rochester.

And for sale by most of the principal Druggists and Merchants throughout the United States, Canada, and the West Indies. Nov. 16—eowly

FARM FOR SALE.

FOR SALE, a Farm, half a mile from, and commanding an excellent view of, the flourishing town of Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio, containing eighty acres, well improved. It has a large brick house, two frame barns, an orchard of grafted fruit trees, an inexhaustible supply of the best of soft water in wells and springs, a well of soft water in the kitchen. House and yard well shaded with trees. A healthy and beautiful country seat. JONAS D. CATTELL, Salem, Ohio.

Feb. 3.—tf